EVANGELICAL AWAKENINGS IN SOUTH AFRICA in the Nineteenth Century: their Antecedent Movements in the Motherlands and Subsequent Impact upon the Evangelization of Africa

by

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Introduction

This dissertation is a study of Evangelical Awakenings in South Africa in the nineteenth century, their antecedent movements in the mother countries and their subsequent impact upon the evangelization of Africa.

In his weighty volumes, which detail and document the history of the expansion of Christianity, Professor Kenneth Scott Latourette has designated the nineteenth century 'the Great Century.' Encompassing the years between the Wars of Napoleon and World War I, this treatise similarly measures out the century from Britain's occupation of the Cape of Good Hope until the Union of the Colonies and the former Republics of South Africa.

This dissertation combines original research into South African and African records with more general collating. It is evident that the accounts of the Awakenings of both the early nineteenth and the mid-nineteenth century in North America and Europe are derived from the writer's already published texts. Thanks are due to the Paternoster Press and to Marshall, Morgan & Scott for permission to publish selections in suitable form.

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Definition

The opening chapters of the Acts of the Apostles describe a reviving of the body of believers, followed by an outpouring of the Spirit of God, resulting in the awakening of the masses, many of whom becoming evangelized and added to the Church. Subsequent movements recorded in church history involved the outpouring of the Spirit, the reviving of the churches, the awakening of the masses, and the extension of the kingdom of God among men, often with profound social impact.

In times past, the word Revival was used to characterize this outpouring of the Spirit and its revival of the churches and awakening of the masses. This term, Revival, used in most countries to denote such evangelical renewal and awakening, has come into disrepute through the common misuse of the word by Americans to describe mass evangelism.

Even more unacceptable is the word Revivalism, which is carelessly used by scholars as well as journalists to include epic movements such as the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century, intense upheavals such as the Welsh Revival of 1904, mass evangelism as conducted by Moody or Graham, and the corybantic capers of a lunatic fringe of fanatics and charlatans. Such as use of the term Revivalism is not scholarship.

To avoid confusion, the term Evangelical Awakening is used herein. An Evangelical Awakening is a movement of the Holy Spirit in the Church of Christ bringing about the revival and advance of New Testament Christianity. Such an awakening may, of course, change in a significant way an individual only; or it may affect a larger group of people; or it may move a congregation, or the churches of a city or a district, or the whole body of believers throughout either a country or a continent; or indeed the larger body of true believers throughout the world. Such an awakening may run its course briefly or may last a lifetime.

Such Awakenings come about in various ways, but there is a common pattern revealed in Scripture and in Church History. The pattern describes the results of the action of the Spirit of God, rather than the plans or projects of any organization of believers.

The main effect of an Evangelical Awakening seems to be always the repetition of the phenomena of the Acts of the Apostles, which narrative describes an intense burden of prayer, expressed in confession and intercession, followed by dynamic witness, accompanied by intense conviction of sin, in which sinners were converted to God.

In this way, an Evangelical Awakening may be said to revitalize the lives of nominal Christians, and bring outsiders into vital touch with the Divine Dynamic causing every such Awakening—the Spirit of God. The surest evidence of the Divine origin of any such a quickening is its presentation of the evangelical message declared in the New Testament as well as its re-enactment of the phenomena evidenced in the same Sacred Literature, though not in the last detail.

From the study of Evangelical Awakenings or Revivals in various cities and districts, countries and continents, in different generations and centuries, it is possible to trace a pattern of action and discover a progression of achievement which establish in the minds of those who accept the New Testament as recorded history an undoubted conclusion that the same Spirit of God Who moved the apostles of old has wrought His mighty works in the centuries preceding our own with the same results but with greater general effects than those of which the apostles dreamed in their day.

Although the records are scarce, there were Evangelical Awakenings in the centuries before the rise of John Wycliffe, the Oxford reformer. But such movements in medieval days seemed limited in their scope, or abortive in their effects. What was achieved in the days of Wycliffe—the dissemination of the Scriptures in the language of the people—has never been lost—nor has the doctrine of the authority of Scripture. Thus the Lollard Awakening led to the Reformation (which would have been unlikely without it), and its principle of an appeal to the Word of God in the matter of reform likewise has never been lost. The Reformation led to the Puritan movement in which the essentials of evangelical theology were refined; and the Puritan movement prepared the way for the Awakenings of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The progression of Evangelical Awakenings can be seen in the perspective of six centuries.

Any student of Church History in general and of the Great Awakenings in particular must surely be impressed with the remarkable continuity of doctrine as well as continuity of action. Any one could begin reading the story of the Gospels and continue into the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles, then without any sense of interruption resume reading the story of the poor preachers of Wycliffe, the evangelists of the Reformation, the teachers of Puritan times, the itinerants of the Scottish Covenant, the circuit riders of Methodism, the readers of Hans Nielsen Hauge in Norway or the Disciples of the Lord in Madagascar. Indeed it is the same kind of Christianity, New Testament Christianity.

Not only so, but the student of such movements would find in the preaching of the Awakenings and Revivals the selfsame message preached and the selfsame doctrines taught as in the days of the Apostles. Non-evangelical Christianity, with its accretions of dogma and its use of worldly power, would seem a system utterly alien to that of the Church of the Apostles, resembling much more the forces both secular and ecclesiastical which had opposed Christianity in New Testament times and later.

The reader of the Acts of the Apostles must surely notice that the Church began to spread by extraordinary praying and preaching. So too the 'upper room' type of praying and 'pentecostal' sort of preaching together with an irrepressible kind of personal witness find their place in the Awakenings rather than in less evangelical ecclesiastical patterns. By this test, the Awakenings are undoubtedly revivals of first century Christianity. This may also be claimed regarding the intense conviction of sin which marked them.

The impetus of First Century Christianity in ever-growing force was felt as long as the Church remained a spiritual body of believers. As the world began to dominate the body of the Church, the influence of apostolic Christianity died away, almost dying out.

The first three centuries of progress were followed by a millenium of changed direction, when the Church was united with the State and when political force was used to compel the consciences of men. These centuries are rightly called the Dark Ages, though they were not entirely without light.

Before the fifteenth century, a change began. From the time of Wycliffe and the Lollards onwards, the impact of Evangelical Revivals or Awakenings was felt in the realm of personal liberty—knowing the truth made men free, and made them wish for freedom for all. The Social Rising of 1381 advocated a programme rooted in evangelical conviction of freedom for all men. Its daughter movement in Bohemia maintained a measure of freedom against the forces of tyranny for more than a century.

The succeeding Reformation which began in Germany had caused such a ferment in men's minds that another social rising became inevitable—and it was crushed only because some of those responsible for the hunger for freedom betrayed it. The hunger for righteousness of the early Puritans brought about another attempt to establish freedom under the law, and, like the endeavours before it, the Commonwealth failed because its proponents in the main had not learned that force was not the method of the Spirit—rather it was persuasion, by the preaching of the Good News.

In the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, the revived Evangelicals learned a different method. Counsel and example found in the New Testament began to prevail, helping to persuade freethinkers and Christians, traditionalists and Evangelicals, that freedom was God's intent for every man, everywhere in the world.

The movements of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were Awakenings in the exact sense of that word—discoveries of truth. The movements of the eighteenth, and nineteenth and twentieth centuries were Revivals. They were used by the Spirit of God to change the shape of things upon earth as well as to win a multitude of souls to heaven, which duplexity is clearly founded on the New Testament.

Thus the nineteenth century became in itself the century of Christian Action, when the Good News was carried into every corner of the world, into every part of social life. Those whose hearts the Spirit had touched became the great initiators of welfare and reform, and tuned even the conscience of unregenerate men to a sense of Divine harmony in society, so that secular and even anti-Christian advocates of reform were found advocating Christian principles.

What then was the task of Evangelical Christianity at the beginning of the nineteenth century?

At the conclusion of the eighteenth century, Evangelical Christianity influenced only a tiny part of the population of the world. It was a dominant force in the United Kingdom and in Scandinavia, and exercised a great influence in the Netherlands and Switzerland. It shared the German States with Roman Catholicism, was a minor force in Hungary and France, but was almost non-existent in the rest of Europe.

In the Americas, there were vigorous bodies of Evangelical Christians in the coastal states between the Alleghenies and the Atlantic, a few settlers in the Ohio Valley and none at all in the West, while Mexico, Central and South America held only a handful of foreign Evangelical traders and diplomats.

The Muslim countries scarcely knew what an Evangelical Christian was. There were only a few thousand converts in all of India, while in China and East Asia only a handful of believers existed. The Pacific islands were the haunts of cannibals, and Australia was almost empty.

Africa, away from the Mediterranean littoral, was an unexplored continent with a scattering of nominal Evangelicals at the Cape of Good Hope, scarcely regarded as a beachhead for civilization and Christianity on a hostile continent.

And how was Evangelical Christianity equipped for its task? Throughout the major part of the eighteenth century, it was operating without Bible Societies; its denominations, whether Anglican, Baptist, Congregationalist, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian or Reformed, operated without the missionary societies; its youth enjoyed no Sunday Schools for teaching the rudiments of the Christian faith.

Evangelical Christianity during the eighteenth century also lacked the multiple agencies of interdenominational cooperation which flourished in the latter half of the nineteenth century—such missionary organizations as the China Inland Mission and the other 'faith' missionary societies; the home missions of the various denominations; the city missions; the Salvation Army; or agencies for the conversion of children and organizations for the rehabilitation of the lost.

What was it that raised up these manifold agencies of both evangelism and social reform? The Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century had already run its course. Where did the dynamic originate, the dynamic which produced the Christian action of the nineteenth century? As in the earlier eighteenth century, the dynamic came from successive new movements of evangelical revival. Yet before the nineteenth century with all its achievement began, there was a desperate dearth of spiritual life in the areas so recently blessed in revival and awakening.

Arianism arose in Northern Ireland, lethargy paralysed Scotland, and fervour dwindled in Wales. G. M. Trevelyan, in writing the social history of England, specified the year 1776 in retrospect as the low-water mark in the ebb-tide of infidelity and laxity of doctrine in England. And an alliance between the American Republic and France brought a flood of infidelity to the United States, a disastrous setback for Evangelical Christianity: infidel clubs abounded, sexual and social morals deteriorated, vice increased, so that even the phlegmatic George Washington was alarmed.

France was taken over by anti-Christian forces which soon overran neighbouring countries such as Germany and the Netherlands. For a whole generation, Western Europe was suffering the devastation of war and revolution.

As Latourette declared: 'It looked as though Christianity were a waning influence, about to be ushered out of the affairs of men.' The night was dark, but it proved to be the darkest hour that preceded the dawn.

Chapter I

Recovery in America

The last decade before the turn of the century began in discouragement. Bishop Madison in the diocese of Virginia shared a conviction of Chief Justice John Marshall, a godly layman, that the Church was too far gone ever to be revived, while Bishop Provoost of New York felt that the situation was hopeless and simply ceased functioning. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church officially deplored the dereliction of religious principles, the prevailing impiety, and the corruption of public morals. The Baptists admitted a very wintry season in which the love of many had grown cold, while members were being lost to the Methodists alone at the rate of four thousand a year.[1]

In despair or hope or both,[2] Isaac Backus (who had been converted in 1741 in the Great Awakening), Stephen Gano and a score of New England pastors posted a call for a nation-wide 'Concert of Prayer.' They were desperate men engaged in faithful intercession which stretched into years.[3]

At that time the colleges in the longest settled parts of the country were hotbeds of infidelity and immorality; all interest in things spiritual had ebbed away. When the tide turned, it did so imperceptibly at first in scarcely noticeable meetings of students engaging in prayer.

In Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia,[4] a few students (without one professing Christian among them, reportedly) locked themselves in a room to avoid ridicule or uproar, and attempted to conduct a prayer meeting, of which one of the novices declared: 'We tried to pray, but such prayer I never heard the like of. We tried to sing, but it was in a most suppressed manner, for we feared the other students.' Discovered, their tormentors tried to break down the door of the classroom.

[1] W. W. Sweet, 1950, p. 224.
[2] S. B. Halliday, p. 386.
[3] A. B. Strickland, pp. 44ff.
[4] B. R. Lacy, pp. 68ff.

The ungodly students creating a disturbance, the president of the college came to investigate. He rebuked the rowdies and invited the intercessors to his study for prayer.[1] Within a short space of time, more than half the number of students enrolled at the college professed conversion in a movement which stirred the local churches also.

When the brilliant Timothy Dwight, grandson of Jonathan Edwards, came to the presidency of Yale College in 1795, he invited his students to attack freely the truth of the Holy Scriptures, and he answered them in a series of pungent sermons in chapel. Among his topics were 'The Nature and Danger of Infidel Philosophy,' and 'Is the Bible the Word of God?' Then he proceeded to grapple with the problems of materialism and deism in a direct exposition of theology.[2]

This provoked such interest in religion that, in 1802, one third of the total student body made public profession of conversion in an awakening that moved the halls of ivy. And in succeeding years, the student revivals at Yale were often repeated.[3]

On a summer afternoon in 1806, five students of Williams College were driven from a maple grove where they were accustomed to meet for prayer.[4] They sheltered from the thunderstorm under a haystack, and there prayed about a plan to reach the unevangelized heathen for Christ.[5]

The thunderstorm was of short duration, and the sun soon broke through the clouds as the light of a clear purpose broke upon their souls. Samuel J. Mills gave the decisive word:[6]

'We can do it, if we will!'

These students organized a society, youthful in spirit and habit, for they met in secret and in cipher recorded their minutes! They found no less than a score of students who willingly shared their burden.

[1] C. L. Thompson, p. 79.
[2] W. W. Sweet, 1950, p. 226.
[3] A. B. Strickland, pp. 133ff;
cf. Schaff-Herzog's Encyclopedia, on Revivals.
[4] A. B. Strickland, p. 138.
[5] C. P. Shedd, pp. 51-52.
[6] S. B. Halliday, pp. 515ff.

Four years later, at Andover Theological Seminary, the students still carried their burden. Mills and his three best friends went to the home of an interested professor to meet half a dozen ministers of their denomination, which was the Congregational churches of New England.

The counsels of their senior brethren were divided. Some thought the proposition a premature one; others felt that it smacked of infatuation; others that it would be too expensive; but after one minister observed that they had better not try to stop God, a majority supported their younger brethren. Thus out of the Haystack Compact grew the whole American modern missionary movement.[1]

College 'revivals of religion' also occurred in Andover, Princeton, Washington, Amherst and other university-level schools, producing not only the modern American missionary movement but a generation of evangelistic ministers who served the opening western territories and states.[2]

In not one of these eastern college awakenings was there any extravagance reported. Revivals began quietly and continued without fanaticism of any kind. There was undoubtedly an appeal to the hearts of the students, but first their minds and consciences were moved.

The spread of infidelity was effectively halted and out of the movement came not only the home and foreign missionary societies, but also the foundation of numerous academies and colleges, theological seminaries and religious societies, and philanthropic organizations, which helped to change the social life of the United States.[3]

Latourette has pointed out that of one hundred and eighty denominational colleges in existence in 1860, four-fifths were founded and maintained by the evangelistic denominations.[4] The schools themselves were evangelistic communities, led by teachers with strong religious convictions, so it is not surprising that evangelical awakenings again and again broke out in American colleges.

[1] A. B. Strickland, pp. 139ff.
[2] D. G. Tewkesbury, pp. 1-5.
[3] W. W. Sweet, 1950, p. 226.
[4] K. S. Latourette, IV, p. 221.

The turn of the century revivals in the schools of higher learning were related to simultaneous awakenings among the illiterate settlers on the frontiers of the United States and Canada.

When the first census of the United States was taken in 1790, it showed that the bulk of the population resided in settlements scattered along the eastern seaboard from Maine to Georgia, about four million people in round numbers. An overflow of United Empire Loyalists had moved to Canada, north-west to the Southern Ontario peninsula and north-east to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

In Nova Scotia and neighbouring provinces, an awakening was manifest as early as 1776.[1] This movement began among the Congregationalists, but a greater harvest was reaped by the Baptists in the Maritime Provinces. Within a few years, there were revival movements also among the Methodists recently arrived from England.

At the turn of the century, southwards from Maine through Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania and the states of the Old South, powerful awakenings were manifested, usually spreading from the tidewater towns to the far western posts of the Atlantic States.[2]

The turn of the century witnessed enormous movements of population from the eastern states into the great valleys on the western side of the Allegheny mountains. Within a generation from adoption of the Constitution, when the boundaries of the nation first met the Mississippi, people poured over the mountains into the empty territories—and eleven new states were admitted to the Union. Soon the state of Ohio surpassed all but four of the original thirteen in population.

Encouraging as were the awakenings in the eastern states, it was in the trans-Allegheny West that phenomena beyond description were witnessed everywhere.

Logan county in the newly-formed state of Kentucky housed such a nest of escaped murderers, counterfeiters, highwaymen and horse-thieves, it was known as 'Rogues' Harbour.'

[1] M. W. Armstrong, pp. 61-107;
[2] cf. H. H. Walsh, p. 134.
F. G. Beardsley, pp. 84ff.

To such a place[1] came the Reverend James McGready, of Scotch-Irish stock and of frontier upbringing. McGready was so ugly in appearance as to attract public attention.[2]

For a number of years, McGready preached his powerful message. Others of Methodist and Baptist affiliation soon followed his example, until in the summer of 1800 (following a solemn covenant of prayer) the most extraordinary manifestations of conviction of sin were witnessed.[3]

Interest had been building up for many months. Such great crowds were in attendance that church buildings could not contain them, so meetings were held in the open-air; and, as there were too few dwelling houses around, multitudes camped for days to listen to the preaching. Thus was born the idea of camp-meetings, practised worldwide.

The movement spread to the counties nearby. At Cane Ridge, in Bourbon County, a communion service was held in August of 1801. The ministry lasted several days and was attended by crowds estimated at between ten and twenty-five thousand people.[4]

The Kentucky Awakening spread south into Tennessee, the Western Carolinas and Georgia, and north into Ohio.[5] The movement increased; upon occasion, thirty or forty thousand gathered, addressed by Baptist and Methodist and Presbyterian preachers in different parts of a camp without clashing. These pioneer hearers were illiterate people, and as such gave way to extraordinary emotional excesses, such as fainting, convulsions, prostrations and jerking---despite which untold good was done.[6]

The influence of these western camp-meetings on society was both good and bad, with the good predominating.[7] A great religious awe seemed to pervade the country, and profanity was seldom ever heard. Drunkards, swearers, liars and the quarrelsome were remarkably reformed. Good effects were felt on the frontier for a lifetime.

[1] W. W. Sweet, 1950, p. 225.
[2] C. A. Johnson, pp. 32-38.
[3] W. W. Sweet, 1950, p. 227.
[4] Ibid., p. 228.
[5] C. C. Cleveland, pp. 62ff.
[6] W. W. Sweet, p. 230.
[7] Ibid., p. 229.

Between the two very different movements of evangelical revival, the college awakenings and the frontier revivals, there was much interplay. The college awakenings provided a flock of dedicated scholars for the uncouth western settlements, and converts among the roughest pioneers were encouraged to prepare in eastern schools for their western ministry.[1] As a result, a host of new schools and colleges were founded in the newly settled parts of the country. The awakening also equipped American evangelists who extended its influence for a lifetime. There were examples in almost every denomination.

The War of 1812 interrupted national life for a few years, chiefly in the Middle Atlantic states. The next decade saw another wave of evangelism and revival, greater than ever before. Everywhere there were additions to the churches, which were second to none in the winning of the west.

Numerically, the Methodists, who had been smallest of the denominations at the winning of independence, were at mid-nineteenth century largest, with 1,324,000 members; the Baptists, who had ranked third, were second with 815,000; the Presbyterians, who had ranked second, were now third, with 487,000; the Congregationalists, who had ranked first, were now listed fourth with 197,000; while the Lutherans and Disciples and Anglicans followed with 163,000, 118,000, and 90,000 respectively, the last-named being now seventh where they had ranked fourth in number.

It was obvious that the denominations which welcomed the Awakening and extended it by evangelism were those which gained most from the movement, and their numerical lead was maintained for more than a century and a half.

[1] W. W. Sweet, 1950, p. 221. (The writer, more than a quarter of a century ago, studied the subject on the Northwestern University campus under Sweet.)

Chapter II

Recovery in Europe

Joshua Marsden, a British Methodist minister who had laboured in Nova Scotia for many years, paid a visit in 1802 to the United States and reported:

> I cannot contemplate without astonishment the great work that God has performed in the United States. It is here we see Methodism in its grandest form. . . In England, Methodism is like a river calmly gliding on; here it is a torrent, rushing along and sweeping all away in its course.[1]

Descriptions of the great camp-meetings were circulated among British Methodists. They made a deep impression on the mind of Hugh Bourne, a zealous young Methodist who had been converted at the turn of the century and who had participated in an unusual 'outpouring of the Spirit' in 1804.

Bourne and his friends decided to meet on the slopes of a local hill, Mow Cop, for a day's praying, announcing the meeting for six o'clock in the morning of May 31—with a typically British proviso that there would be no gathering if the weather were inclement.[2]

Zealous Methodists gathered, and prayer meetings went on all day, but as the numbers attending increased to many thousands, a considerable contingent of unconverted people drawn by curiosity appeared and came under conviction of sin. From six o'clock in the evening, people began to depart, leaving counsellors dealing with the many inquirers.

In July 1807, the Methodist Conference held in Liverpool announced that it was their judgment that, even supposing that camp meetings were allowable in America, they were highly improper in England and likely to be productive of considerable mischief. Conference disclaimed connection.

Within the year, young Bourne was expelled from the local Methodist society. He and his associates continued feeding converts into Methodist societies until they were refused.

[1] see H. B. Kendall, passim.
[2] cf. W.E. Farndale, pp. 26ff.

The new body operated without a name until 1812, when they adopted a phrase of Wesley's to call themselves a Society of Primitive Methodists. They increased rapidly.[1]

The Primitive Methodists promoted field-preaching in the summer months in Britain, and attracted vast crowds everywhere, at Mow Cop, Nottingham Forest, and at other suitable rallying points throughout the country, with many converts. They were subjected to hooliganism, as Wesley had been, a century earlier.

The Primitive Methodists not only renewed the aggressive evangelism of Wesley's day but they developed a strong social conscience, contributing spiritual strength to the trade unions in their struggle to better the lot of the labouring man.[2] In fifty years, the Primitive Methodists reached a membership of 150,000 and as many more Sunday School children—or approximately half the totals of the main Methodist body that had expelled them.

The greatest single convert of the 'Ranters,' as Primitive Methodists were derisively designated, was not added to the ranks of Wesley's followers at all but to the sister Baptist denomination. Charles Haddon Spurgeon, born in the village of Kelvedon in Essex in 1834, converted at mid-century in a little Primitive Methodist chapel, became one of the greatest preachers of all time, whose spoken sermons were heard by multiplied thousands and whose printed sermons were read by the millions.[3]

The spirit of revival abroad in Britain in the early nineteenth century affected the Dissenting denominations and so produced some great men of God. It affected the Church of England constituency also.

Despite the success of Whitefield and Wesley and other ardent Anglican Evangelical clergymen still in the Mother Church, no Evangelical Bishop served till Henry Ryder was consecrated as Bishop of Gloucester in the year of Waterloo.[4] Evangelicals were despised as enthusiasts.

[1] W. E. Farndale, pp. 26ff, 48ff.
[2] Young & Ashton, p. 35.
[3] see W. Y. Fullerton's biography of Spurgeon.
[4] On Henry Ryder, see G. C. B. Davies.

Revival in the Church of England flowed in a different kind of channel than that in the Free Churches. Evangelical clergy began to have second thoughts about the implications of field-preaching and ministry in unconsecrated places, feeling that such a policy when applied to a national parish system would in fact result in schism. They therefore began to devote their energies to the indoctrination of a body of clergy who would carry evangelical ideas into their parish pulpits.[1]

Charles Simeon was ordained in 1782. He had been greatly influenced by the Evangelical vicar of Huddersfield, Henry Venn. Early in his career, Simeon preached at a farmhouse to a responsive crowd of people, but satisfaction turned to dismay when Venn sent a kindly letter deploring the lapse.[2]

Simeon moved to Cambridge, became a Fellow of King's College and Vicar of Holy Trinity. He not only preached an evangelistic message in Cambridge and round about, but devoted his life to combining the fervour of evangelism with the regular discipline of the Church. In this he made a profound impression upon the younger clergy in training at the Cambridge colleges, and soon the Simeonite clergy became a dominant force in English life.[3] Had it not been for Simeon, Evangelicals might have abandoned the Church of England for the easier method of an itinerant ministry.

Across the Irish Sea, the Church of Ireland thrived upon Evangelicalism, continuing thus for the rest of the century.[4] But the Presbyterians were in dire straits due not only to the Arian revolt in the manses but also to Presbyterian involvement in the 1798 Rebellion, in which United Irishmen were executed or fled to America. Turning themselves to the comforts of faith, they founded the Evangelical Society of Ulster and an increase of Bible reading and of evangelical religion followed.[5] From the main body of Presbyterianism, the Unitarians withdrew into a distinct denomination, the Non-Subscribing Presbyterian Church.

[1] G. M. Trevelyan, p. 510.
[2] For a Life of Charles Simeon, see W. Carus.
[3] L. E. Binns, pp. 37ff.
[4] see W. A. Phillips, volume iii.
[5] On Irish Presbyterian history, see J. S. Reid.

There were many local revivals in Wales in the concluding quarter of the eighteenth century,[1] and many outstanding men of God traced their spiritual birth to such awakenings, among them Robert Roberts of Clynnog, John Elias of Anglesey and Ebenezer Morris of Twrgwyn, who were converted in such awakenings at Brynengan (1785), Bala (1791) and Trecastle (1786) respectively.[2] The results were felt for a lifetime in the Principality.

Before the turn of the century,[3] awakenings occurred in Cardigan, Carmarthen, Pembroke, Carnarvon and Anglesey. An awakening began in Aberystwyth in 1805, in which crowds of 20,000 gathered, with unusual impact upon children and youth.[4] Other revival movements began in Sunday Schools.[5]

Yet another awakening began at Llangeitho in the 1810s, described as 'the quiet revival' on account of the absence of the Welsh phenomenon of moliannu (or praising). In 1817, there was an unusual awakening at Beddgelert, considered the most powerful in Wales since the beginning of the first Methodist Revival. Thousands were added to the churches in North Wales thereby.

Some of these awakenings originated with the Calvinistic Methodists now called Presbyterians, but the Baptists and the Congregationalists also shared richly in them. In five years, beginning with 1816, the Baptists (for example) took in more than eight thousand members.

At the turn of the century in Scotland, there were many signs of evangelical awakening. During the early 1800s, evangelical revivals had broken out simultaneously in far apart districts in Scotland. These revivals helped counteract an unbelief that kept the gospel from the people by dominating the theological schools and deadening pulpit ministry. Through the revivals, not only was Moderatism shaken, but in district after district, immorality, drunkenness and profanity dwindled to the disappearing point.

[1] Eifion Evans, pp. 11-14.
[2] D. E. Jenkins, volume iii, p. 114, on Charles.
[3] John Hughes, volume i, p. 346.
[4] Eifion Evans, p. 15.
[5] Henry Hughes, p. 252.

Participating in many of the Scottish awakenings were the brothers James and Robert Haldane, who belonged to a well-connected and wealthy family and who had served with great distinction in the Royal Navy.[1] These capable Evangelicals organized a society for the evangelization of the rural areas of Scotland. They sustained themselves, using their own carriages, with a supply of tracts printed by themselves.

The Haldanes preached in churches wherever invited, in hired halls, or in the open air. This ministry attracted an extraordinary attention and the results were lasting, inside and outside the Churches. An outraged Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland passed acts against 'vagrant teachers and Sunday Schools, irreligion and anarchy,' and the lesser Presbyterian bodies also condemned free-lance work. None of this at all deterred the brothers Haldane from continuing their itinerant ministry the length and breadth of Scotland.

In 1800, an awakening began in Perthshire,[2] commencing in a parish where the minister was himself unconverted. Among the many converts were the parents of Dr. Alexander Duff, one of Scotland's greatest missionaries of all time, a famous educator in India.

Records of the Scottish Awakenings are scarce.[3] Some of the local movements were due to the influence of the Haldane organization, but others were quite independent of it. There is every evidence of the awakenings being general and spontaneous in the Highlands and Lowlands alike.

The power of the Scottish Revival of the early nineteenth century was carried to the continent so recently freed from the tyranny of Napoleon but still dominated by the sceptical thinkers of revolutionary times.[4] Geneva reflected Voltaire rather than Calvin. Switzerland, while militarily intact, had suffered ideological conquest.[5]

[1] the Haldanes were nephews of Admiral Lord Duncan, the British war hero who succeeded Lord Nelson.
[2] A. MacRae, pp. 131ff.
[3] J. Mackay, pp. 243ff.
[4] A. Haldane, pp. 375ff.
[5] On the religious revival in France and Switzerland, see the work of Ami Bost.

In 1816, in Geneva, Robert Haldane began his lecturing to any students willing to listen to him.[1] He hired a room and used an interpreter as well. His method was simple: if a student asked him a question, simple or complex, he replied directly 'What does the Scripture say?' This was so very different from the method of the Reformed professors in sceptical Geneva that students flocked to hear the Scot who 'knew his Bible like Calvin.'

Before long, the wrath of the professors and clergy rose. Nevertheless, the ministry of Robert Haldane provoked a thorough revival of evangelical Christianity in the Swiss city. Merle D'Aubigné, Louis Gaussen, Henri Pyt, Cæsar Malan, Charles Rieu, all ardent evangelical scholars, were converts of the Haldane revival. The awakening spread to the neighbouring old-Huguenot parts of France, carried there both by Haldane and by immediate converts. Among the products of Le Réveil[2] in France at this time were Ami Bost, Adolphe Monod, Felix Neff and Napoleon Roussel, who made a lasting imprint, not only upon France but upon Europe for a lifetime. The Awakening spread through the Reformed Churches to the Low Countries.

Britain and Prussia had been the two major Protestant powers confronting the dynamic push of Napoleonic France. Great Britain successfully resisted Napoleon but Prussia, fighting bravely, was overrun. Fear of Napoleon had turned the people of Britain towards God; the misfortunes of war in Germany likewise had a quickening effect.[3]

Following the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, there was much rejoicing in Germany over the providential deliverance from the foreign yoke. In the north-western territories, between 1814 and 1836, there arose a movement which was Wesleyan in type; it was led by Krummacher, Hofacker, Volkening, von Kottwitz and others; it moved many of both upper and lower classes to seek personal salvation and to offer vital service to the nation. The years after 1814 also evidence a slow renewal of indigenous Pietism.

[1] A. Haldane, pp. 375ff; cf. Ami Bost, passim.
[2] A. Haldane, pp. 411ff.
[3] P. Scharpff, pp. 121ff.

In the north-eastern territories, the awakening took on a different form.[1] Beginning in 1810, it sparked a movement of evangelical zeal and philanthropy among the upper classes, influencing Frederick William IV of Prussia and outstanding national leaders. It resulted in many missions to reach the peasants and labourers—a missionary movement rather than a spontaneous awakening of the masses of the people. It fell short of its English-speaking counterparts in effecting the reform of a nation, though it seemed to be an extension of the same Awakening postponed for a generation by the Wars of Napoleon.

The intimate relations between Britain and the German States at the time were reflected in the intimate relations of British and German Christians. Every British innovation, whether in the founding of missionary societies or of Bible societies, was duplicated in Germany.

The Awakening in Germany lasted for a whole generation. The leaders raised up in the revival extended its operations throughout their homeland and exported it through dedicated missionaries to the far corners of the earth. Often the latter served as members of British societies.

Norway, scarcely moved by the Reformation and lightly touched by Pietism, enjoyed a vital awakening towards the end of the eighteenth century. In 1771, Hans Nielsen Hauge was born into a Norwegian peasant home. He was converted to God in an ecstatic experience in 1796.[2]

Within a year, Hauge obeyed a command of the Spirit to preach, urging the people to repent of their sins, warning them against the prevalent rationalism of the revolutionary period.[3] Hauge for eight years travelled up and down the country noted for its roughness and its beauty. He preached two to four times a day.[4] His activities did not please the state clergy; he was arrested ten times upon charges of breaking the Conventicle Act and of vagrancy. At the time, four of the five bishops were rationalists.

[1] Ibid. (Prof. Scharpff shared notes with the writer.)
[2] For Hauge's Life in English, see J. M. Shaw.
[3] E. Molland, pp. 73ff.
[4] see Sverre Norborg on Hauge, 1771-1804.

Hauge was imprisoned in 1804, and not finally released till 1814, giving the last decade of his life to vital ministry. Within his lifetime arose a vast multitude of lay preachers. Hauge died in 1824, but his work was carried on. His lay-followers were known as 'readers,' committed to preaching a thorough conversion to God and to teaching a genuine holiness of living.

Despite his persecution by the state church, Hans Nielsen Hauge urged his followers to stay within its fellowship, which they largely did. Out of the fertile soil of Haugeanism grew societies for home and foreign missions. Hans Nielsen Hauge was a man of genius. The nationwide revival that stemmed from his conversion to God was unique. He helped unite the common folk in a national and spiritual consciousness which prepared them for national responsibility soon to come as Norway emerged from a centuries-long eclipse.

Denmark, closer to Germany, was affected less by Anglo-Saxon Evangelicalism and more by German Enlightenment. Nevertheless, a series of evangelical awakenings began and gave rise to missionary enterprise at home and overseas.[1] These awakenings coincided with the golden age of Danish culture.[2] Clergymen and laity in their parishes were often revived. There were itinerant ministers and 'readers' in Denmark also, of whom some suffered imprisonment and loss of livelihood.

From 1820 onwards, a dynamic and brilliant clergyman of strong Lutheran convictions, N.F.S. Grundtvig, directed[3] a national church movement which stressed the sacraments rather than evangelism, and with this the revival-minded people clashed on occasion. Both movements helped the state Church of Denmark to struggle against renewed invasions of scepticism and rationalism coming from German schools of philosophy. Grundtvig was famed also for his promotion of folk schools in Denmark.[4]

[1] On Danish Missions, see Nils Bundgaard.
[2] H. Koch, p. 129.
[3] Of many biographies of Grundtvig, one by H. Koch is translated into English by Llewellyn Jones.
[4] N. Davies, pp. 69ff, for Grundtvig's schools.

The Reformation in Sweden had been initiated by members of the upper classes and was largely doctrinal and ecclesiastical, reaching Sweden by way of Germany, as did Pietism a century later. But in the nineteenth century, an Anglo-Saxon influence began to eclipse the German, lastingly.

The influence of the Great Awakening and the Evangelical Revival in America and Britain had begun to stir up Swedish Lutherans. John Paterson and Ebenezer Henderson, both Scots,[1] crossed to Sweden and engaged in Bible distribution that prepared the way for a Swedish Awakening.

There were 'readers' also in Sweden.[2] Their hearers met in conventicles. Some groups were quiet students of the Bible, but others indulged in abnormal religious frenzy, sometimes called 'the preaching sickness' and very similar to the manifestations of the American frontier awakenings of preceding decades. Even so, the moral reformation effected thereby was undeniable.

Strong similarity existed between the Awakening which occurred in Finland and the Hauge Revival in Norway.[3] In 1777, Paavo Ruotsalainen was born and in young manhood, after a three years' struggle,[4] he was converted to God. He did not know Luther's writings, translated much later.

Throughout the eighteenth century, Finland had shared in the religious life of Sweden, but in 1808 the country became a grand duchy of the Russian Empire. In the turmoil of the change, Paavo Ruotsalainen began preaching as a prophet to the Finnish people and a great awakening began.[5] Despite the Russian annexation, the country continued Lutheran, sharing movements that stirred neighbouring Sweden. Although the means of communication between the two communities was the Swedish language, spoken by a minority of cultured Finns, the evangelical awakening revived native Finnish culture.

[1] Gunnar Westin, 1956, p. 24.
[2] G. Stephenson, whose work on Swedish Immigration contains invaluable information, pp. 31ff.
[3] see the Norwegian translation of Juhani Aho, with an introduction by Prof. Ole Hallesby.
[4] G. O. Rosenqvist, pp. 8ff.
[5] see H. Nyman's biography of Ruotsalainen.

Chapter III

Quickening at the Cape

The spiritual life of the Hollanders at Table Bay continued quietly through the eighteenth century, theirs a religion which was 'severely unemotional and chiefly a matter of form' that 'exercised but little vital influence over the everyday life of the congregation,' to quote a South African authority.[1]

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, there were signs all over Protestant Christendom of disquiet with the deadly deism of the period, and this showed itself in Cape Colony also. In 1786, a brilliant young Hollander, Helperus Ritzema van Lier, arrived at Table Bay to become minister of the Groote Kerk.[2] He was as evangelistic as he was precociously scholastic, a teenage Doctor of Philosophy[3] who became an ardent evangelist in his twenties.[4]

Van Lier exercised an effective ministry in Cape Town, winning many burghers to a vital faith in Jesus Christ, some of whom became pioneer missionaries to the heathen near at hand and far away. Van Lier burned out in seven years, but left an abiding memory of purity and power.[5] He was one of the great men of the Groote Kerk.

That he was not a voice crying in the wilderness was made clear by the arrival of Michiel Christiaan Vos,[6] a graduate of the University of Utrecht, who returned home to minister in the parish of Tulbagh.

Converts of Van Lier's preaching sought to reach with the Gospel the Hottentots,[7] Jan Jakob van Zulch labouring in the Wagonmaker's Valley, while others worked among the people

[1] J. du Plessis, 1911, pp. 63ff.
[2] for a definitive biography of Helperus Ritzema Van Lier, see T. N. Hanekom.
[3] University of Groningen, May 1783.
[4] William Cowper wrote an account of the spiritual experience of Van Lier, a nameless biography.
[5] T. N. Hanekom, pp. 135ff, 189ff.
[6] M. C. Vos, Merkwaardig Verhaal.
[7] W. J. van der Merwe, pp. 73ff.

of mixed blood around Cape Town, as did Mrs. Machteld Smith,[1] a truly remarkable self-appointed missionary who helped extend the work far and wide.[2] These pioneers laid the foundation of missions sustained by the Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa.

> The tide of religious life which was so evidently rising in Europe and the United States was also having its effect in the Dutch churches of South Africa . . .[3]

Meanwhile, events were transpiring in Europe which were to change the face of South Africa. France had emerged as a revolutionary power, and, in view of the threat, the Stadholder of the Netherlands arranged in 1788 with the British to occupy the Cape to prevent its falling into the hands of the French.[4] When French armies overran Holland in the winter of 1794-95, the British occupied the Cape for about eight years, returning it to the Netherlands at the Treaty of Amiens. The second British occupation came in 1806, again as a war measure against France.

These vicissitudes of war had no untoward effect upon the preaching of the Gospel in Cape Colony, whether among the burghers in Cape Town and its satellite communities or on the widening frontier among the Hottentots and other heathen tribespeople.

Garrisoning the Cape was a strong British force, including the 72nd and 83rd Regiments. Among the troops were a few active Methodists who suffered petty persecution for their faith. For four years, John Kendrick (a soldier-Methodist preacher) failed to find one serious person among a thousand men of the regiment,[5] a judgment which had not considered the likelihood of believers grown indifferent or lukewarm because of the temptations of army life.

[1] baptized Machtelt Combrink, 17 August 1749, as in Prof. Hanekom's painstaking study.
[2] see John Philip's memoir of Mrs. Mathilda Smith.
[3] K. S. Latourette, V, p. 339.
[4] P. J. Blok, volume vi, pp. 501ff.
[5] MS Letter of John Kendrick, 20 November 1810, at Cape Town, to Thomas Blanshard; Archives of the Methodist Church, Cory Library, Grahamstown.

But, late in 1809, an earthquake shook the Cape Peninsula and neighbourhood, rocking the settlements for eight days and putting fear into the inhabitants.[1] George Middlemiss in the 72nd Regiment found that this godly fear had led to a seriousness about the more important things of life and a thirsting after salvation, followed by an outpouring of Divine grace,[2] and John Kendrick noted the same with 'unspeakable satisfaction' concerning the 83rd Regiment at Saldanha Bay, north of Cape Town:

> The spark of grace soon began to catch from soul to soul. Prayer meetings now commenced among them and such a cry for mercy followed as is most wonderful. The room frequently has been so crowded that many have been unable to approach the door.[3]

As the Spirit was outpoured, soldiers sought the Lord with cries and tears, notorious sinners pleading for pardon. Soon there were fifty men in the Methodist Society. The number of English-speaking Evangelicals at the Cape grew into the hundreds, but there came an amicable parting of the ways into Arminian and Calvinist gatherings, the two parties soon taking permanent denominational form.

Arriving in 1816, the first Methodist minister encountered much opposition, his chapel being burned by a regimental colonel.[4] Presbyterians entering with Scottish troops met with less difficulty, thanks to establishment.

In 1820, more than five thousand British folk came out to South Africa and settled on the frontier between the Boers and the Bantu, founding Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth and creating the Eastern Province. As picked artisans and

[1] Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1810, p. 207.
[2] Letter of George Middlemiss, 1 November 1809, Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1810, p. 446.
[3] Letter of John Kendrick, 20 November 1810; also his journal, in the Journal of the Methodist Historical Society of South Africa, vol. ii, no. 4, p. 84.
[4] J. Whiteside, pp. 35ff; see also W. C. Holden's History of Methodism and of Methodist Missions in South Africa. There is a wealth of documentation on early Methodist work.

fine settlers, they overcame initial hardships—such as crop failures, frontier forays and official bumbling—to prosper gratifyingly.[1]

The official sponsors of British colonization were tardy indeed in providing official Anglican churches and clergy. The High Church S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. which followed the Church of England communicants and adherents into South Africa helped build Anglo-Catholic predominance, while by default (due to Anglican comity arrangements) Evangelical churches remained weak in the country.

The early beginnings of the Baptist, Congregational and Methodist work as well as Scots Presbyterian in the Eastern Province demonstrated a measure of home-bred piety and evangelical fervour among the British settlers, who were voluntary immigrants.

It was among the Methodists that the first sign of revival was reported. The Reverend William Shaw,[3] converted in Glasgow in 1812, came out as an immigrant pastor and began to preach the Gospel in the new settlements and, travelling on horseback, organized a local preachers' band, dedicated to building churches in various places.

Shaw had found conditions among the troops and settlers and hangers-on deplorably bad, the people often given over to drunkenness and debauchery. There was no ministry of any kind, Anglican or otherwise, for a thousand souls. Shaw's powerful preaching and the kind of praying it provoked soon resulted in an awakening which cleaned up the community and began its civic reputation for a vigorous church and academic life. The Grahamstown Awakening of 1822 came not from special efforts but followed the usual means of grace in church life, its unusual impact on the community producing many converts.[4]

[1] see R. Godlonton (1954 edition) on British Settlers of South Africa, (Grahamstown 1844).
[2] on Anglicanism in South Africa, see P. Hinchliff.
[3] Journal of William Shaw, Cory Library, in Rhodes University, Grahamstown.
[4] Letter of William Shaw, 12 July 1822, in Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1822, p. 801.

With almost unanimous support, the Methodists erected a chapel in the centre of Grahamstown,[1] generously allowing the Baptists to use it for services, and even granting the Anglicans its use while their parish church was being planned and built—though the parish priest protested the Methodists ringing their church bell for Methodist services as they did for the services of their Anglican guests.

Nine years later, in 1831, a second season of revival was enjoyed in Grahamstown and district.[2] It began in the local Wesleyan Church and spread to other towns and farms.[3] Many young people were converted to God, and a number entered into the Christian ministry.[4]

Minutes of the District Meeting of Methodist ministers and local preachers in Albany (Grahamstown) District noted:[5]

> Throughout the past year, the English congregations have been large, and from want of room in the chapel, great inconvenience has been experienced . . .
>
> It has pleased the Head of the Church to grant us a gracious revival of religion in our Grahamstown congregation, in the early part of last year, principally among our young people. . . we have a clear increase of fifty-six members.[6]

As among the Dutch-speaking congregations, the revival of the European Christians produced a vital interest in the evangelization of the heathen. Demonstrating the essential oneness of the work of God, whether among European South Africans or Hottentot or Bantu, there were outbreaks of the fervour of revival in mission station after mission station.

[1] G. E. Cory, 1910-30, volume ii, pp. 96ff.
[2] Letter of William Shaw, 19 December 1831, Archives of the Methodist Missionary Society, in London, in Albany District File; cf. Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1832, p. 525.
[3] Letter of Samuel Young, 24 July 1831, loc. cit.
[4] Ibid., 10 October 1831, loc. cit.
[5] Minutes of the Methodist District Meeting, 1831, in Cory Library, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.
[6] Additions to South African Methodists in 1832 and 1833 exceeded 1831 or 1834 by 300%.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Dutch Reformed people in South Africa were suffering from a dearth of clergy. The Awakenings had already moved Scotland, but not the Netherlands, so a Governor of the Cape succeeded in persuading a number of Scottish ministers to emigrate to the colony to minister to its Dutch-speaking people in dorp and veld. The experience proved a happy one, giving broad Scots names to some of South Africa's best known Afrikaner families.[1]

Among these Scots came the elder Andrew Murray,[2] who not only quickly identified himself with his adopted people but prayed earnestly for an evangelical awakening in South African churches similar to the movement stirring Scotland, a habit which he continued until his death.[3]

This Andrew Murray sent his sons John and Andrew to study in Scotland, where they were deeply moved by the awakening begun with W. C. Burns, whose preaching had moved Dundee. Both young men decided to enter the ministry, and went on to Utrecht for their theological studies.[4] The Awakening provoked by the visit of Robert Haldane to Geneva was already spreading since 1820 from France into the Netherlands.[5] Their involvement in the Revival both in Holland and Scotland had lasting results in South Africa, yet another example of the interplay of Evangelical Awakenings across time and space.

Not only was Evangelicalism the main influence in the Dutch Reformed Church, but it predominated in the English-speaking Churches also, in the Baptist, Congregationalist, Lutheran, Methodist and Presbyterian, and others. This is confirmed in standard histories of South Africa, as in the writings of Walker,[6] the Cambridge historian, and in the writings of Latourette.

[1] The writer was well-acquainted with Afrikaner folk named Murray or MacDonald, some without English.
[2] J. du Plessis, 1919, pp. 210-212.
[3] W. M. Douglas, p. 15.
[4] J. du Plessis, pp. 34ff, 55ff.
[5] On the Netherlands Awakening, see M. E. Kluit.
[6] E. A. Walker, 3rd edition 1965, p. 150.

> The main recruitment of the clergy came through the missionary societies. The Wesleyan movement, the Evangelical revival in Great Britain, and the Lutheran revival in Germany had put new life into Protestantism . . . had even affected the far-distant Cape . . . welcome support to the incoming evangelical missionaries.

Evangelicalism had its own distinctive type of ecumenism, one which began at the grass-roots between individuals who shared the same spirit of brotherhood, concern and cooperation. The ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church in the days preceding the quickening at the Cape were often jealous of Moravian, Lutheran, Anglican and other workers in the vineyard. What a vital difference of attitudes in the early nineteenth century when the Church of England clergy held their services in the Groote Kerk,[1] and Wesleyan and Lutheran congregations happily shared the Cape Town constituency with Reformed parishes. This evangelical ecumenism was reflected in the founding of a Cape of Good Hope Church Missionary Society, in a meeting presided over by the good Sir Benjamin D'Urban. It came to an end with the arrival of churchmen with a non-Evangelical view of the Church.

In the vast area of western South Africa, the Bantu were unknown, its sparse inhabitants being a nomadic, pastoral people called Hottentots by the Europeans. These Hottentots, and their more primitive racial cousins, the Bushmen, were a people of parchment-coloured skin, not negro.[2]

The country, partly arid, was very lightly occupied by the Hottentot clans, which maintained their simple life by keeping cattle and sheep, and by hunting. The Bushmen, one of the most primitive of aboriginal peoples, were nomads who maintained a more precarious existence by hunting and collecting. The Bushmen were able to survive, even in the arid Kalahari Desert, by natural peculiarities, including steatopygia (fatty tissue accumulation on the rump) of the womenfolk.

[1] The Diary of the Rev. Francis Owen, 1837-38, p. 4. (edited by G. E. Cory)
[2] On the Bushmen and Hottentots (the Khoisan peoples of South Africa), see I. Schapera, 1930; see also L. Shultze, 1907, and G. M. Theal, 1910.

As early as 1662, a first Hottentot convert had been baptized at the Cape settlement. She married a Danish surgeon. Little more was done for a hundred years. Georg Schmidt, a Moravian of German birth, came to South Africa in 1737 and founded the still-flourishing mission station known as Genadendal.[1] He baptized five Hottentots, but a dispute with the officially appointed ministers at the Cape forced his withdrawal in 1743.

When the Moravians reopened their mission in 1792, they were happy to find an aged survivor of the work of Schmidt with her worn copy of the New Testament in Dutch. Fifty years had passed since Schmidt's departure.[2]

Within a couple of years of their return, the Moravians witnessed a spiritual awakening at Genadendal. The preaching and teaching of the missioners Marsveld, Schwinn and Kuhnel, bore fruit in the lives of the Hottentots:[3]

> A veritable hunger for the Word of God was apparent. The emotional Hottentots were moved to tears by the preaching of the Gospel . . . Those colonists who from time to time were witnesses of the work of God's Spirit in the ignorant heathen, were moved to confess that they could hardly believe that such results were possible . . .

Mrs. Machteld Smith, convert of Van Lier, visited the work at Genadendal a few years later and rejoiced in the fervour of the three hundred Christians she found there.

Thanks to the rising tide of spirituality, the Dutch-speaking inhabitants even before the British annexation had begun to evangelize the Hottentots and other non-Europeans in their vicinity, on a master-servant relationship.

Van Zulch, another convert of Dr. Van Lier, proved so successful in his work among slaves and Hottentots near Wellington that he was able to build them a meeting-hall. M. C. Vos, an ardent evangelist, laboured for the conversion of Hottentots not only by his own labours, but through teaching farmers to teach their slaves and labourers the Word of God daily in their own quarters.

[1] J. McCarter, pp. 7-14.
[2] J. du Plessis, 1911, pp. 50ff.
[3] Ibid., pp. 73ff.

The London Missionary Society workers held a conference in Graaff-Reinet in August of 1814. They rejoiced to report hundreds of conversions.[1] The burghers of Graaff-Reinet were impressed by the good tidings of the workings of God among the heathen, and in high enthusiasm founded there an auxiliary missionary society.[2] Andries Waterboer, later to become a military leader and chief of the Griquas, himself preached in the meeting house.[3]

Thus the evangelization of the Hottentots was accomplished through the revival of the Christian folk in Dutch dorps and English towns. The general movement of the Spirit throughout the world of Evangelical Christendom had not only moved both Dutch and English-speaking settlers in South Africa, but had sparked an endeavour to reach their neighbours with the Good News of the Christian life.

[1] London Missionary Society, Quarterly Chronicle, volume i, p. 197.
[2] Ibid.
[3] R. Moffat, 1842, pp. 200ff.

Chapter IV

Preparation for Advance

Latourette, in his consideration of the Great Century and the movements within Christianity through which the expansion of the faith had been chiefly accomplished, first noted the 'revivals' which were particularly effective in the United States and the United Kingdom, and second, the organizations in large part growing out of them.[1] The European countries shared in the movement fully.

It was in Great Britain that the first of these organizations had their beginning.[2] Reasons for prior British leadership included the effect of the Evangelical Revival upon the thinking of Christians and the effect of the industrial revolution on the income of the people. With their desire to serve, the people were given the wherewithal to serve, an over-ruling of Providence seen in other centuries.

In 1799 through the urging of George Burder, a Congregational minister influenced by George Whitefield, the Religious Tract Society came into existence, dedicated to a diffusion of evangelical literature.[3] It was supported both by Church of England and Free Church people.

The American Tract Society was founded in 1825 with the object of providing the religiously destitute with Christian literature.[4]

In 1787, an appeal was made from Wales for more Bibles in the Cymric tongue. When little Mary Jones tramped fifty miles over the Welsh hills with her six years' savings, only to find that the last copy of the Welsh Scriptures had been sold, Thomas Charles of Bala took up the matter with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and, failing, suggested to the Religious Tract Society that a Bible Society be formed.[5]

[1] K. S. Latourette, IV, pp. 34-35.
[2] Ibid., IV, pp. 65-66.6
[3] On the Religious Tract Society, see W. Jones, pp. 12ff.
[4] American Tract Society, Annual Report, 1826.
[5] G. R. Balleine, p. 133.

The outcome was the foundation of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804. It was interdenominational in character, dedicated to the dissemination of the Scriptures without note or comment, at home or abroad. Its officers largely were members of the 'Clapham Sect,' making clear its debt to the Evangelical Revival.[1] The American Bible Society was formed in 1816 to combine the efforts of several associations.[2]

During the eighteenth century, there were many isolated attempts to evangelize children. In 1780, Robert Raikes of Gloucester organized a Sunday School to give religious and moral instruction to the children of the poor. It was found that the children needed to learn to read before anything else could be done.[3] As the standard of education among the children of the poor was raised, the Sunday School movement more and more devoted its energies to religious instruction. So in 1803, the interdenominational Sunday School Union was formed. The American Sunday School Union was formed in 1824, aimed at establishing a Sunday School in every place in the country where there was sufficient population.[4]

In 1784, a Baptist pastor named John Sutcliffe (who had been stirred by the reports of the Great Awakening in the American countryside, called upon Northamptonshire Baptist churches to pray for an outpouring of the Spirit. According to Dr. Ernest A. Payne,[5] it was these prayer meetings as much as any other influence which prepared the little group of ministers for their venture into foreign missions.

The Anglican missionary organizer, Eugene Stock, selected the year 1786 as the 'wonderful year' in the development of missionary passion.[6] In that year, William Wilberforce resolved to live for God's glory and for the good of fellowmen. This and every other manifestation of the concern cited by Stock was due to the influence of the Evangelical Revival in Britain.

[1] W. Canton, volume i, pp. 1ff.
[2] H.O. Dwight, volume i, p. 7.
[3] E. W. Rice, pp. 21ff.
[4] A. A. Brown, p. 166.
[5] E. A. Payne, p. 31.
[6] E. Stock, volume i, p. 57.

William Carey in 1786 first suggested to the Baptist ministers at Northampton that they must consider their responsibilities to the heathen. At Nottingham, on the 30th of May, 1792,[1] William Carey preached a missionary sermon to his Baptist associates, urging them to 'Expect great things from God. Attempt great things for God.' Within six months, at a specially convened meeting of the association, what was soon to be called the Baptist Missionary Society was formed.

The founding of the Baptist Missionary Society is usually regarded as the inception of modern Protestant missionary enterprise. There had been endeavours to evangelize the non-Christian world before 1792, but they were limited in scope or in objective. The Northamptonshire shoemaker in retrospect appears to have been the first Anglo-Saxon of Evangelical faith in either Britain or America to propose that Christians undertake to carry the Gospel to the world's unevangelized millions. A real enthusiast for geography and linguistics, he cobbled shoes, taught school, and preached the good news.[2] Carey not only promoted but pioneered in missions. And he not only urged Baptists, but all Christians to recognize their responsibility for carrying the good news to every creature.[3]

It was in 1786 that Thomas Coke established officially a Methodist mission to the West Indies.[4] In 1790, the British Methodist Conference set up a committee of management for this work and in successive steps committed itself to the official formation of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in 1817-18.[5]

Thomas Haweis, an Anglican evangelical, led the way in proposing the formation of the London Missionary Society—as an interdenominational organization—in 1795.[6] In 1796,

[1] S. Pearce Carey, p. 83.
[2] H. C. Vedder, p. 250.
[3] W. Carey, An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, 1792.
[4] Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, volume xxx, pp. 25ff. (A. Birtwhistle.)
[5] Findlay & Holdsworth, volume i, p. 72.
[6] R. Lovett, volume i, p. 5.

the missionary ship Duff sailed for the South Seas and so began the ministry of this remarkable society, which drew its support more and more from churches within the British Congregational Union.

In 1795, the Eclectic Society of Evangelical clergymen sponsored by Charles Simeon discussed a suggestion that a mission to the non-Christian world be attempted by members of the Church of England. Out of Charles Simeon's idea came the Church Missionary Society, founded in 1799 as a society for missions to Africa and the East.[1] Strange to relate, the first missionaries of the Church Missionary Society were Germans trained in a missionary school in Berlin.

In 1796, the Scottish Missionary Society and the Glasgow Missionary Society were formed but that year the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland rejected a proposal to begin missionary enterprises; in 1824, it reversed itself and sent out Alexander Duff and others to India.[2]

The awakenings in the American colleges at the turn of the century had a profound missionary effect. At Andover Theological Seminary, a group of eager candidates (among whom were Samuel J. Mills and Adoniram Judson) committed themselves to work for the evangelization of the heathen, so they decided to bring the matter formally to the attention of the Congregational authorities which, in 1810, organized the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.[3]

On the voyage to India, Judson and his bride, knowing that they would encounter William Carey, began to study the subject of believers' baptism. The Judsons and Luther Rice decided to embrace the Baptist viewpoint, and Rice returned to ask the support of American Baptists, who in 1814 formed a general missionary convention of the denomination, later the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society. Forced out of India by an antagonistic British East India Company, the Judsons went on to Burma and wrought a mighty work for God.[4]

[1] W. Carus, p. 229.
[2] D. Mackichan, p. 74, pp. 112ff.
[3] J. Tracy, pp. 24ff.
[4] see F. Wayland's biography of Adoniram Judson.

In 1819 the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States of America formed its missionary society.[1] The foreign missionary programme of the Protestant Episcopal Church was begun two years later.[2] Presbyterians, divided by schism, took longer to establish an official missionary society, their Board of Foreign Missions being created in 1837.[3] That same year, a missionary society of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States was formed and commenced operations.[4]

Throughout the nineteenth century, to meet the needs of a population increasing by seventy million, American Protestants organized home missions to settlers, to Negroes slave and free, and to Indians. Latourette has stated that the turn of the century awakenings had an even greater impact than the earlier Great Awakening. These second series of revivals motivated and manned the modern missionary movement.[5]

The first of the modern European missionary societies was begun in 1797 in Rotterdam in the Netherlands in connection with the new London Missionary Society.[6] Its chief founder was Jan Theodor van der Kemp; the Netherlands Missionary Society drew support from the Dutch Reformed Churches, and until the middle of the nineteenth century (when a further movement of revival occurred) was the only Dutch missionary society.

Despite a decline, the tradition of Pietism in Germany remained and revival came again in the nineteenth century. A school of missions founded in 1800 by Johann Jänicke[7] prepared workers for the Netherlands Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society and London Missionary Society, serving fields in Asia and Africa.[8]

[1] J. M. Reid, volume i, p. 17.
[2] J. C. Emery, pp. 29ff.
[3] A. J. Brown, pp. 21ff.
[4] G. Drach, 1926, p. 23.
[5] K. S. Latourette, IV, pp. 34-35.
[6] see E. F. Kruijf, (Nederlandsche Zending).
[7] P. Scharpff, p. 94.
[8] G. Warneck, pp. 140ff.

In 1815, the Basel Mission was founded, with support from Switzerland and Germany, and in 1828 the Rhenish Missionary Society was started. In 1836 the Evangelical Lutheran Mission was founded, moving headquarters later to Leipzig. The same year saw formation of the North German Missionary Society. The Berlin Mission was founded in 1824.[1]

The Danish Missionary Society was formed in 1821, beginning its ministry in Greenland before extending work to areas beyond the sovereignty of the Danish crown.[2] In 1835, the Swedish Missionary Society was founded,[3] and in 1842, the Norwegian Missionary Society,[4] all of the evangelical impulse which came from worldwide awakening.

And what of home missions? The Awakening gave birth to a flock of societies in each nation. David Nasmith was born in Glasgow in 1799. He had an early religious experience, becoming an ardent Christian worker at the age of fourteen. He was turned down as a missionary candidate for Africa in 1817, but in 1826 he founded the Glasgow City Mission, in 1828 the Dublin City Mission, in 1830 the New York City Mission and others in the United States and Canada; while in 1832 he founded the London City Mission which in two years had more than sixty workers.[5] All these were of interdenominational character and of revival impulse, and long continued thus.

So were the first societies designed to reach particular groups. Efforts were made in the 1810s and '20s to improve the moral and social conditions that seamen encountered at sea and in port, by 1830 the American Seamen's Friend Society reporting operation of eight churches and seventeen boarding houses, with eight pastors and one chaplain overseas.[6] Seamen's missions were established in various countries and by various denominations, but the impulse came through the Awakening of 1800 onwards.

[1] Ibid., pp. 141ff.
[2] N. Bungaard, pp. 7ff.
[3] B. Sundkler, pp. 7ff.
[4] N. Landmark, pp. 3ff.
[5] J. W. Bready, 1938, pp. 408-409.
[6] American Seamen's Friend, Annual Report, 1830.

The world-wide Young Men's Christian Associations also stemmed directly from the Awakening. In 1837, a young Englishman, George Williams, experienced an evangelical conversion. Shortly afterwards, he was greatly impressed through the reading of Finney's Lectures upon 'Revivals of Religion' and to 'Professing Christians.' In 1841, he moved to London, where he found the working conditions among the white-collar workers in stores and shops deplorable, so he and another convert began to evangelize their friends and workmates. In 1844, they founded the Drapers' Evangelical Association, later renamed the Young Men's Christian Association. Its first president was the Earl of Shaftesbury, and like its founder and him, the Y.M.C.A. was zealously evangelistic from the beginning.

The first great success of modern missions, achieved from the beginning of the century, exhibited itself in the transformation of the South Sea Islanders from cannibals into Christians, a truly remarkable achievement.

Another was the winning of the Negroes in the United States to the Christian faith. Numerical gains thus made equalled the total made in all of Africa and Asia in the century which followed Waterloo. And never did so large a body of socially depressed peoples make such gains in civilization in so few decades of opportunity.

Another was an invasion of India by a vanguard of missionaries who penetrated the sub-continent and built up embryonic congregations and pioneer schools and colleges. Progress was slower in the Far East, where the doors in China hardly opened while those in Japan remained closed.

Whence came all this energy and enterprise? Awakenings of the nineteenth century had revitalized Protestantism, and had added a vision to faith already generated by the earlier Revivals. None can improve upon Latourette's conclusion,[1] that this Protestantism was characterized by an abounding vitality and a daring unequalled in Christian history. Through it for the first time plans were seriously elaborated for bringing the Christian message to all men and to make the life of all mankind conform to Christian principles.

[1] K. S. Latourette, IV, p. 44.

Chapter V

Evangelical Renewal

The years between 1792 and 1842 were years of continuous revival in the United States, a fifty year period which divides itself neatly into two parts, separated by the decade of the War of 1812.

The first period of revival, the Second Great Awakening which occurred in churches and colleges in the east and in churches and camp-meetings in the west, was a general awakening, producing many young leaders but dominated by no one leader.[1]

The second period of revival, from about 1822 until 1842, raised up Charles Grandison Finney,[2] who continued to dominate the field of evangelism in North America throughout the middle third of the nineteenth century, just as the figure of D. L. Moody dominated its final third.

Between 1822 and 1842, local and extensive revivals were occurring in the churches of almost all the denominations. Of the movement of 1830-31, Dr. Lyman Beecher some time afterwards gave his opinion:

> That was the greatest work of God and the greatest revival of religion that the world has ever seen, in so short a time. One hundred thousand were reported as having connected themselves with churches as a result of that great revival. This is unparalleled in the history of the church.[3]

The American Methodists were in the forefront of the continuing revivals.[4] In 1822, there were more than a thousand camp-meetings in which the Methodists participated. In the winter of 1839-40, the Methodist Episcopal Church alone received more than 154,000 additions.[5] The Methodists in their handling of converts were very thorough.

[1] F. G. Beardsley, p. 85.
[2] On Charles Grandison Finney, see G. F. Wright.
[3] quoted in C. G. Finney, p. 30n.
[4] W. W. Sweet, 1945, p. 129.
[5] Western Christian Advocate, 10 March 1858.

Bishop Asbury told his Methodist preachers:[1] 'We must attend to camp-meetings; they make our harvest time.' The harvest was followed by as much work as that which preceded sowing. Of it, the church historian, William Warren Sweet,[2] had declared: 'There has been entirely too much stress placed upon the emotional excesses of camp meetings and all too little upon the routine work of frontier churches and preachers.'

The Baptists in the early 1800s had carried on their revival ministry by means of farmer-preachers of little education.[3] In the 1820s, the whole of the country including the frontier was covered by a network of Baptist Associations, made up of local churches acting in voluntary cooperation, and, in 1832 the American Baptist Home Mission Society was formed and thereafter expanded rapidly.[4]

Anglican, Congregationalist, Lutheran and Presbyterian Churches likewise benefitted from the Awakening on the western frontier, but not to such an extent as did Methodist and Baptist congregations whose 'free and easy' organization was better suited to fluidity, everywhere prevalent on the western frontier.

The Second Great Awakening brought into existence a new major denomination, the Disciples of Christ.[5] The Reverend Thomas Campbell, minister of a Presbyterian church in the North of Ireland, left his home to seek better health in the American Colonies, arrived in 1807 in Philadelphia and was appointed to western Pennsylvania where his deep spirituality and his unusual abilities provided him with a widening ministry and a growing influence.

Thomas Campbell possessed a truly catholic spirit, and welcomed to the Lord's Table various believers who did not adhere to the Presbyterian organization to which he belonged. For this, he was censured and criticized so severely that he resigned from his affiliation.[6]

[1] W. W. Sweet, 1945, p. 131. [2] Ibid., p. 132.
[3] H. C. Vedder, p. 327.
[4] W. W. Sweet, 1945, pp. 124-125.
[5] W. E. Garrison, pp. 70ff.
[6] Ibid. The Disciples bibliography is extensive.

Thomas Campbell convened a meeting of his friends and proposed a return to the teachings of the Word as the basis of truest unity. He held forth a maxim, 'Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; and where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent.' After discussion, it was decided to form 'the Christian Association of Washington,' a society to promote Christian unity and a pure evangelical reformation.

Thomas Campbell began to minister at large. Alexander Campbell, son of Thomas Campbell, had previously crossed to Scotland to study for the ministry of the Seceding Presbyterians.[1] In Glasgow, he had come under the influence of the brothers Haldane in whose ministry was blended revival and evangelism. The Haldanes were both of them congregational rather than presbyterial in church polity. Alexander Campbell found that he had lost confidence in his own denomination. The younger Campbell took ship for America to find himself wholly in sympathy with his father.[2] Alexander Campbell soon became the leader of the denomination, which within a century passed the million mark in membership.

The majority body of the Disciples of Christ continued in the Campbell tradition of Christian reunion on the basis of New Testament practice. A more radical wing developed a less friendly attitude towards other Christian churches.

It has been pointed out by Latourette that the Canadian settlements experienced no such explosive religious revivals as known in United States.[3] Canada did not experience anything resembling the great movements which began in Great Britain, nor did any Great Awakening or series of revivals on the frontier or in the colleges ever originate on Canadian soil—with the possible exception of the Hamilton Awakening of 1857 which commenced the Awakening of 1858-59 around the world.[4] Yet each of the revival movements which moved the United States had its effects upon Canada.

[1] On Alexander Campbell, see R. Richardson.
[2] W. W. Sweet, 1950, p. 237.
[3] K. S. Latourette, V, p. 7.
[4] see J. Edwin Orr, 1949, p. 14—and in one sense, the Awakening of 1776 in Maritime Canada preceded the pre-1800 Revival in New England.

It was in the country south of Lake Ontario that the outstanding evangelist of the nineteenth century—with the exception of Moody—arose to harness the movement of dynamic evangelism.

Charles G. Finney was born in Connecticut in 1792, a year after John Wesley died in England.[1] His family moving farther west, Finney studied law in western New York.[2] He began to read the Bible with reference to the Mosaic legal code, and from this interest his familiarity with the Scriptures grew until he was convinced of the authority of the Word. Finney was converted, not through evangelistic witness, but by private study of the Scripture and prayer.[3] His conversion caused a great stir in his community, for he was already (at 29 years of age) a brilliant fellow, a splendid pagan, impressive in personality, and proudly conscious of his intellectual as well as his physical superiority.

In 1824, Charles Finney conducted a series of meetings at Evans Mills in Oneida County, New York State. Faithfully he preached, but after a score of sermons, there were no decisions.[4] The evangelist told his audience that he would preach to them no longer unless some of them received the Lord Jesus Christ as Saviour. Still none responded, so the evangelist told them:[5] 'You have rejected Christ and His gospel. You may remember as long as you live that you have publicly committed yourself against the Saviour.'

A packed church heard him preach what was announced as his last sermon. The evangelist took for granted that the audience was committed against the Lord, and he preached accordingly. He asked for no reversal of their decision. During the night, scores tried to contact him, but he was nowhere to be found. A great concern developed among the unconverted, bringing such a response that in a matter of days nearly every one professed conversion, including a number of atheists. Such was the beginning of Finney's extraordinary ministry and an unusual power remained with him the rest of his life.

[1] C. G. Finney, autobiography, p. 4.
[2] Ibid., p. 5.
[3] Ibid., pp. 12-20.
[4] Ibid., pp. 62ff.
[5] Ibid., p. 636.

Finney's labours in the local awakenings in western New York reached a climax at Rochester where one-tenth of the city's ten thousand people were converted, and twelve hundred became members of the churches there in 1830.[1] Soon the impulse of the awakening was widely felt in a general movement throughout the States, with a hundred thousand joining the churches in 1831.[2]

Finney became a national figure and was soon invited to conduct revival meetings in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and the larger cities. His 'new measures' aroused opposition, among them his use of the 'anxious seat,' a bench or a pew reserved for inquirers.[3] His theology moved away from the Presbyterian-Congregationalist brand of Calvinism and took a middle course between Arminius and Calvin, between a Methodist and Baptist viewpoint. Later in life, Finney developed a strong doctrine of Perfection.[4]

Finney's career was one of the most unusual in the history of evangelism. Reacting against a kind of fatalism in his own denomination, Finney deplored the notion that sinners should continue under conviction of sin until God should deign to grant them repentance; rather he felt that they should by an act of the will surrender to God. It was this emphasis upon immediate decision and his preaching of 'whosever will' which had made a powerful effect.[5]

As a gospel tactician, Finney was second to none. As a strategist, his practice was better than his theory. Finney went to the extreme of stating that revivals of religion were nothing more or less than a result of the right use of the appropriate means.[6] Finney's expectancy of revival in his ministry, a ministry obviously empowered by the Holy Spirit, was justified by the results almost everywhere evidenced in his labours. His theories were based on the assumption that times of refreshing were automatically assured, whereas his theories have not applied always during a decline.

[1] Ibid., pp. 284ff.
[2] Ibid., p. 300.
[3] W. W. Sweet, 1950, loc. cit.
[4] W. W. Sweet, 1950, pp. 283-4.
[5] F. G. Beardsley, pp. 148-149.
[6] C. G. Finney, lectures, p. 5.

Unfortunately, besides encouraging many a pastor or an evangelist to expect revival in his ministry, Finney's theory of revivals encouraged a brash school of revivalists and evangelists who thought that they could promote genuine revival by the use of means chosen by themselves![1] The use of means was patently successful in the case of many other Spirit-filled men. In the case of less-spiritual promoters, the theory gave rise to a brand of promotional evangelism, one full of sensationalism and commercialism,[2] a scandal of American religious life in the low period between the Moody-Chapman campaigns and the crusades of Billy Graham.

Despite these objections, one may designate Charles G. Finney as the most brilliant evangelist during the nineteenth century. No other matched him in talent and power.

There were other evangelists of the Revival of Finney's days who were effective in Britain as well as in the United States. James Caughey,[3] of the Troy Conference in New York State, was moved in the times of revival in 1840 to give himself to the work of an evangelist.

Caughey's first two campaigns were in Canada, in Montreal and Quebec, where five hundred people professed conversion.[4] Many years later, he also conducted services in Toronto and London. In early 1841, he crossed to Ireland and began his ministry in Dublin where he preached 129 times and turned over 700 converts to the care of the churches.

In Liverpool, Caughey preached 120 times and more than 1200 converts were reported. A like number professed conversion in Sheffield, in Nottingham an even greater number. He preached in many of Britain's cities and towns.

From 1841 till 1848, Caughey laboured in the United Kingdom, with 22,000 people professing conversion to God.[5] One man greatly moved was a youth in Nottingham, by name William Booth, who immediately took to street preaching.[6]

[1] cf. W. G. McLoughlin, p. 132.
[2] Ibid., pp. 447-450.
[3] F. G. Beardsley, p. 202.
[4] S. B. Halliday, pp. 605-606.
[5] F. G. Beardsley, loc. cit.
[6] S. B. Halliday, loc. cit.

The evangelical ecumenism of the nineteenth century produced an interesting development in its second quarter, from 1825 onwards. Dublin Evangelicals formed a group for 'the breaking of bread,' attracting many who were bewildered by denominationalism![1] From this movement came the Christian Brethren, miscalled Plymouth Brethren. Darby became the leader of the Exclusive, Muller of the Open Brethren.[2]

Meanwhile, local awakenings continued in Wales. North in Denbighshire there was a revival in 1821,[3] followed by another in Anglesey in 1822.[4] South in Carmarthenshire, an awakening occurred in 1828, which spread throughout South Wales and added thousands to the churches.[5] In 1832, another awakening occurred in North Wales, in Carnarvonshire.[6]

In 1840, more than two thousand people were added to the churches of Merionethshire in a movement which affected North Wales, Liverpool and areas of South Wales. Charles Finney's lectures on the subject of Revival had been studied by the promoters of this work, and both prayer and preaching services were organized, to the sorrow of Calvinists who disapproved the 'use of means.' This 1840 Awakening was quiet and solemn and lacked the usual emotional disturbance. Very few of the converts fell away.

In 1849, a great cholera epidemic afflicted South Wales, and concern impressed several thousand in a few months.[7] Local awakenings were becoming fewer towards the mid-century and a generation of great preachers converted in the earlier movements was dying off. There was a noticeable decline in evangelical religion in the 1850s, provoking ministers[8] who remembered better things to discuss topics such as 'The Inefficiency of the Ministry,' 'The Ungodliness of the Present Generation,' and 'Worldliness in Relation to Religion.' Alas, the pattern has repeated itself.

[1] H. A. Ironside, pp. 10ff.
[2] Ibid., chapters iii-v.
[3] John Hughes, volume iii, p. 154.
[4] Henry Hughes, p. 293.
[5] Eifion Evans, p. 18.
[6] John Hughes, volume iii, p. 152.
[7] Eifion Evans, p. 19. [8] Ibid., p. 22.

In 1839, William Chalmers Burns (later the pioneer in China) told a congregation in Kilsyth of the mighty movement of God in that place a century previous. So great was their hunger for God that the rehearsing of the story produced the same intense heart-searching and conviction of sin as before, and many were the conversions.[1]

In the next month, August, Burns proceeded to Dundee to supply for his friend, the saintly Robert Murray McCheyne, telling his church of what had happened in Kilsyth. The whole city of Dundee was moved by the praying and preaching.[2]

W. C. Burns was asked by interested clergy to minister in the neighbouring counties, and in so many places there were awakenings brought about by his preaching of the love of Christ in dying for sinners. Most of the conversions occurred during the seasons of prayer.

From 1839 to 1843, the Scottish Highlands were moved by a general awakening which also affected the English-speaking Lowlands greatly. In Oban, there occurred such a movement in 1841 that people from the countryside flocked to the meetings, walking as many as twelve miles.[3] A second wave of blessing visited the places that had been moved about thirty years before. Again the islands became the scenes of religious revival, including some that had not experienced the earlier awakenings. The spiritual folk in cities and towns were being girded for a national emergency.

In the 1840s, there was a renewed awakening throughout Norway. At the beginning of the century, there had been only one non-rationalist bishop in Norway, Johan Nordal Brun of Bergen. A grandson, Pastor Lyder Brun of Bergen faced a crisis of the spiritual life in the '40s, and emerged as a great revival preacher in Bergen and the western parts of Norway.[4]

In the same decade, a Lutheran clergyman, Gustav Adolf Lammers, led a great revival in Skien in South Norway in 1848, but his convictions led him to secede from the State

[1] J. Shearer, pp. 66ff.
[2] A. Bonar, p. 25.
[3] A. MacRae, pp. 53ff.
[4] E. Molland, pp. 35ff.

Church.[1] For a while, it seemed as if the movement would progress more outside the Establishment, but it proved not so. The State Church movement in the awakening was led by an Oslo professor of theology, the 'Charles Simeon' of Norway, Professor Gisle Johnson, under whose inspiration there were outstanding revivals from 1851 onwards into the sixties.[2]

The Norwegian Missionary Society had been founded in the revival decade of the 1840s, and in 1853, a year marked by a cholera epidemic, the first Home Mission (Indremisjon) was begun.[3] Both were voluntary societies within the Church of Norway. The Inner Mission continued to be a bulwark of Evangelicalism in Norway, with its own Bedehuser (Prayer Halls) alongside parish churches where more formal worship was held, relationship to the State Church comparing with that of the Methodist societies before secession.

A British chaplain, George Scott,[4] started in 1830 a work which had a profound effect upon the religious life of Sweden. Born in Edinburgh, he was Wesleyan in preaching but an interdenominationalist in practice. He awakened a religious zeal among the humble classes, influenced men of importance, organized missionary societies, published newspapers, and helped to deliver the Swedish people from the curse of brandy. He was driven from Sweden.

Two students of the University of Uppsala—Rosenius and Anders Wiberg—became leaders of the Evangelical movement in Sweden.[5] Later the movement split in two, one section becoming Baptist and following Anders, the other forming the Evangelical National Foundation, known in Swedish as Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen, led by Rosenius.[6] Not a Pietist, Rosenius edited a magazine entitled Pietisten. He was free of any taint of the fanaticism that had marred other awakenings in Sweden.

[1] Gunnar Westin, 1956, p. 256.
[2] For a biography of Gisle Johnson, see G. Ousland.
[3] E. Molland, pp. 35ff.
[4] On George Scott, see Gunnar Westin, 1927.
[5] Gunnar Westin, 1956, passim.
[6] G. Stephenson, pp. 38ff.

Meanwhile the awakening of French-speaking Reformed Churches continued to spread, reaching the Netherlands (and still called the Reveil) in 1830. Many people were awakened. In the decade 1840-1850 came a greater awakening, enlisting abler men. A Jewish convert, DaCosta, was called the prophet of the Revival, Beets the preacher, Heldring the philanthropist, Prinsterer the statesman. Evangelism increased at home and abroad.[1] There was sympathetic fellowship with the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa. There was a zealous interest in the mission field of Indonesia. The great Awakening within the Netherlands was fully matched by the continuing revival in Germany.[2]

The Wesleyan Methodists commenced their work in the German lands in 1830; the Baptists began in 1834; in 1849, the American Methodists followed; and the Evangelical United Brethren started in 1850. Outstanding was the work of Johann Oncken of Hamburg, who pioneered Baptist work not only in Germany but Scandinavia and the Slavic countries. Working within the State Church, Johann Hinrich Wichern promoted the formation of evangelistic associations which flourished the more when freedom of assembly was granted in 1848.

[1] see M. E. Kluit, on the Netherlands Revival.
[2] P. Scharpff, pp. 220ff

Chapter VI

Social Impact of Revival

'Christianity,' said Wesley,[1] 'is essentially a social religion; to turn it into a solitary religion is indeed to destroy it.'

The sowing of the seed of social reform was carried out in the eighteenth century in Britain, just as was that of political liberty in America. There were two main periods of harvest in the century that followed, coinciding in their beginnings with the early and the middle nineteenth century awakenings around the world.

Europe and America were convulsed by war in the days of Napoleon, hence it was to be expected that the flowering of social reform would follow the coming of peace after the battle of Waterloo. Peace made possible a way for social improvement not only in Great Britain and parts of Europe but also in the United States. The first period of impact came to an end about the time of the abortive revolutions of 1848 and the Crimean and American Civil Wars, and the second one commenced in the 1860s.

The first social impact was felt in the emancipation of slaves, in the protection of prisoners, in the care of the sick and wounded, in the betterment of the standards of workers, in the defence of women and children and of helpless animals, and in the establishment of systems of education.

By far, the greatest social evil was that of human slavery. Inter-tribal wars provided opportunities for slavery, which was the lot of the captured, not only in Africa but in many other parts of the world. The Arabs first introduced war for the capture of slaves for the Near Eastern market as a way of life in Africa, and Europeans introduced the same objective (directly and indirectly) into West Africa for the overseas, rather than the overland trade. There is no escaping the responsibility for the active promotion of inter-tribal war, although (of course) such a state of affairs could not have occurred in the nominal Christian homelands, even then.

[1] John Wesley's Works (1872 Edition), in volume v, p. 296.

The slave trade was a diabolical affair. Native chiefs often raided their neighbours at night and set fire to the villages, slaughtering the very old and very young and dragging the survivors to the coast in shackles.[1] In the overseas trade, it was estimated that one in eight died during the voyage in which they were packed in stinking holds like logs, and that another one in twenty died in harbour before reaching the auctioneer's block, twenty per cent dying within ten weeks of embarking, with no more than fifty per cent reaching the plantations. Likewise, in the overland trade, ten lives were lost for every slave who reached the coast and fifty per cent never reached a slave market, according to Livingstone.[2]

Thirteen years before the formation of the Abolition of Slavery Committee, John Wesley published his thoughts upon slavery in a direct and penetrating argument against the inhuman traffic in human beings.[3]

> Can human law turn darkness into light or evil into good? Notwithstanding ten thousand laws, right is right and wrong is wrong still.

Wesley declared all slave-holding absolutely inconsistent with any kind of natural justice, let alone Christian ethics. He declaimed that the whole business was hypocritically greedy, that slavery bred other vices. Men-buyers, he said, were no better than men-stealers. He denounced the wealthy slave-merchants as the mainspring that put into motion the slave-captains, slave-owners, kidnappers and murderers. These were strong words to use freely in 1774, when slaving itself was protected by law, when philosophers of old and statesmen of the time were quoted ardently to justify the outrageous institution. Wesley followed the example of the Quakers, who spoke against slavery in the seventeenth century. George Whitefield also declared his opposition. But the anti-slavery advocates were only a small, enlightened minority in both Britain and the American Colonies.

[1] see T. Clarkson on the rise, progress and accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade by the British Parliament.
[2] Encyclopedia Britannica, 1968, article on 'Slavery.'
[3] Thoughts upon Slavery, 1774.

Slavery as such was not practised in Europe, but in the European colonies in the New World as well as in most Asian and African countries. In the nineteenth century, slavery was mainly practised in the plantation communities of the American Southern States and the West Indies, as well as in the Ibero-American colonies. Yet the control of the machinery of slavery lay in the efficient shipping organizations of England, Old and New.

The pioneer advocates and engineers of the abolition of slavery within the British Empire were almost all products of the Evangelical Revival. William Wilberforce and his colleagues were Evangelicals,[1] many of them the pillars of the then-derided, now-extolled Clapham Sect, a group of Church of England Evangelicals with Free Church adherents holding greater concern for the souls and bodies of men than for current ecclesiastical strife. As the Abolition movement gained strength by spiritual persuasion, great men such as William Pitt, Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox, and others of that calibre, joined the Evangelicals in their grand endeavour,[2] as did liberals with ethics inherited from their Christian forebears.

From the time that Lord Mansfield declared in a famous case in 1772 that any slave brought to England was automatically free, anti-slavery agitation made progress; and the slave trade was abolished in 1807.[3]

That abolition of slavery had been achieved in Britain was of utmost importance. Had a tiny landlocked country such as Switzerland abolished slavery, only a good example would have resulted. After Trafalgar, however, Britain's naval might was unchallenged for a century, and it was used to dissuade other nations from slave-trading. At the Congress of Vienna, the nations agreed that the slave trade should be abolished, and country after country took legislative action until it was internationally outlawed by civilized nations.[4]

[1] see J. C. Colquhoun's biography of Wilberforce.
[2] G. M. Trevelyan, p. 495.
[3] cf. J. W. Bready, 1942 (a popular version of his 1938 dissertation), p. 44.
[4] Encyclopedia Britannica, loc. cit.

At first, the patrol action of the British navy against the slave-ships in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans had the effect of worsening conditions on the voyage to slave-markets, for up to two-thirds of the human cargoes were murdered and thrown overboard to avoid detection and capture.[1] And thus the dwindling supply of slaves caused overworking in the West Indian plantations.

Sir William Fowell Buxton led the agitation, until in 1834 Emancipation of the Slaves came into law throughout the British Empire.[2] No less than 750,000 in the West Indies alone were proclaimed free men, their chapels being crowded at midnight July 31, while the day of liberation, far from being one of bloodshed as predicted, became a day of order, reverence and rejoicing, the Negro having been prepared for his liberty through the influence of evangelical missions. Parliament cheerfully paid twenty million pounds sterling to recompense the slave-owners.

It took another thirty years to bring about the emancipation of the slaves in the United States. The successes in the early nineteenth century of the British Emancipation had dealt a staggering blow to the American institution of slavery, but it took more agitation by tender-conscienced Christians and yet another Evangelical Awakening, before a majority of the people were ready to abolish slavery. The Finneyan Revivals had a powerful effect on anti-slavery agitation in the North,[3] not always appreciated.

In the first encounter of Europeans with the African peoples at Table Bay, there was mutual friendship, and generations passed before anything like a colour bar was erected.[4] It was the spread of slavery in the Cape Colony which bred contempt for race which in turn poisoned the master-servant relationship, whether in Brazil, Jamaica, Alabama or Cape Colony. In some places, the prejudice lasted longer than in others, due to factors of history.

[1] see T. Clarkson on the Abolition movement.
[2] J. Harris, pp. 3ff.
[3] W. W. Sweet, 1945, pp. 155ff.,
cf. G. H. Barnes on anti-slavery impulses.
[4] J. du Plessis, 1911, pp. 32-33.

Unlike West Africa, Southern Africa had not become a slave-raiding territory. The slaves of the burghers in Cape Town were (more often than not) imported from countries overseas, across the Indian Ocean, in race chiefly of Malay stock which included Malagasy, with some of Hottentot or kindred stock, a minority Bantu or Negro.

Ships coming south-southwest from East Indian or intermediate ports unloaded their slaves at the Cape, where a good slave cost $800.[1] From one quarter to one third of the human cargoes never reached Cape Town.[2] But once landed, the slaves 'enjoyed' a better treatment than was common in the West Indies.

The trekking farmers usually possessed their quota of Hottentot slaves as household property. The cultural gap between Hottentot and European was so great that menial service was the inevitable relationship of the former to the latter. Slavery was an accepted institution all over the world, and slavery at the Cape was far from being the worst. When emancipation came, the menial service continued in altered form. The life of the Hottentot, unorganized compared with that of the tribal Bantu, was doomed. Out of the submergence of Hottentots and half-castes into European society arose the Cape Coloured folk, largely Afrikaans-speaking, predominantly Christian, Islamic remnants surviving only in the Cape Malays.

Afrikaners had inherited their slaves as personal property (as in the Southern States), and it was the exception rather than the rule for household slaves to be ill-treated. Owners had begun to interest themselves in the evangelization of both their household slaves and their Hottentot neighbours. The imperial rulers seated overseas at Westminster were of the same mind. In 1822,[3] William Wilberforce rose in the House of Commons to insist that 'the communication of Christian instruction to the slaves and Hottentots is a paramount act of duty.'

[1] Records of the Cape Colony, 1821-1822, p. 485.
(edited by G. M. Theal).
[2] Collected Works of C. G. Botha, volume i, p. 293.
[3] Hansard, 25 July 1822.

As the agitation for the emancipation of the slaves overcame opposition, the Cape was ready. When in 1834, the British Government decreed slavery abolished, both burgher and boer readily accepted emancipation, with its promise of fair compensation for the loss of property.[1]

But management was hopelessly bungled in the first place, for the compensation was payable in London in cash and bonds —and the poorer Cape farmers were unable to get to any colonial bank. They were thus compelled to sell their interest next-to-nothing to good-for-nothing middlemen.

In the second place, chaos in labour markets (much resembling the disorganization of labour in the American South after the Civil War) left farmers without help and labourers starving. In this also, British idealism became greatly misunderstood and distrusted.

There were now four major forces involved in the northward civilizing of Africa, the expansion of the Afrikaner nation, the settlement of British and other colonists, the evangelism and social ministry of the missionaries among the native races, and the imperialism of Victorian Britain. The first two, destined to create the South African nation, had renounced slavery and shunned involvement in it in their relationship with primitive peoples, and the last two opposed both slavery and slave-trading in British territory and beyond.

South Africa was a trading, agricultural and pastoral community at that time, without any of the gross injustices which marked an industrialized society. Yet every victory won in advanced societies had its effects in South Africa.

Already in the eighteenth century significant prison reform was under way.[2] The conditions of life in prisons were at that time indescribably foul. Old, decrepit buildings were commonly used as prisons; strait-jackets, irons and chains were added for security on the slightest excuse. The prisons were dens of despair with disease, drunkenness, indecency and debauchery forced on their inmates. Not only were the vicious criminals so incarcerated but also first offenders, and even persons already declared not guilty of any crime.

[1] Records of the Cape Colony, 1821-1822, p. 485.
[2] see J. Field's biography of John Howard.

An Evangelical, John Howard,[1] took up the challenge and gave his life as well as his private fortune. John Howard received the official thanks of Britain's House of Commons.[2] He was recognized as the father of modern prison reform, inspiring others to take up the task only barely begun in his lifetime. Evangelicals took the lead, followed by the free-thinkers,[3] who tackled the reform of the penal code.

A young Quaker mother who raised eleven children became burdened for the women, desperate and depraved, whom she found in the notorious Newgate prison that Wesley had called the earthly equivalent of hell. Elizabeth Fry not only read the Scriptures and prayed with these unfortunates, but also opened successful prison schools for them.[4] In 1817, Mrs. Fry founded a society for prison reform, dedicated to those principles now taken as elementary: separation of the sexes, classification of criminals, useful employment, secular education, and religious instruction with a view to restoring the prisoners to society.

One of those directly influenced was Theodor Fliedner, born in the first month of the year 1800, son of a Lutheran pastor.[5] Unconverted, he had attended the Universities of Giessen and Göttingen, but his faith was deepened elsewhere. A greater influence upon his life was the evangelical impact of Halle, the university where August Francke had served.[6]

In due course, Fliedner was called to the cure of Kaiserswerth, a Protestant parish in the midst of a Roman Catholic population.[7] A threat of foreclosure of a mortgage sent him off to Holland and Britain to collect funds. It was in London that the effect of the Revival dispelled finally any trace of rationalism in Fliedner's mind.[8] In 1823, Theodor Fliedner met Elizabeth Fry in the English capital.

[1] see also T. Taylor's memoir of Howard.
[2] J. W. Bready, 1942, pp. 246ff.
[3] Ibid., pp. 251ff.
[4] see biography of Elizabeth Fry, by J. Whitney.
[5] The autobiography of Fliedner is found only in his native German.
[6] A. B. Wentz, p. 13.
[7] Ibid., p. 21.
[8] Ibid., p. 25.

> I learned to know a whole host of institutions that minister to the bodies and souls of men. I inspected their schools and prisons. I observed their homes for the poor and the sick and the orphaned. I studied their missionary societies and Bible societies and their societies for the improvement of prisons and so forth. And I particularly noted that practically all of these institutions and organizations were called into being by a living faith in Jesus Christ and that nothing but this vital faith sustains them.[1]

Upon his return to Germany, Fliedner requested voluntary imprisonment, but was refused. In 1826, he organized a prison society, the first of a series of philanthropic ventures.

Florence Nightingale, an English gentlewoman, was much intrigued by a report of the ministry of Theodor Fliedner at Kaiserswerth where the sick were lovingly cared for by German deaconesses, all of them of peasant stock, as were Elizabeth Fry's, nursing being regarded as too low for ladies. Soon she took her training in nursing at the obscure village on the Rhine. Looking back years later, she deplored the backwardness of the hospital but commended its tone as 'excellent.' She recalled that she never had met with a higher tone, or a purer devotion. She returned to London to apply the lessons learned in the same evangelical way.

Before she died at the age of ninety, the lady with the lamp had revolutionized the life of the private soldier. She became generally regarded as the founder of modern nursing. And historians have conceded not only her training at a school born of evangelical revival but her debt to Evangelicals for her lifelong simplicity of purpose.

The secularists have contended that Florence Nightingale betrayed an anti-evangelical spirit by deriding prayer for the sick. This was a strange misrepresentation of fact. The attitude of the famous nurse was that of the modern Christian doctor. What was the good, she asked, to pray for deliverance from plague and pestilence as long as sewers ran into the river Thames?[2]

[1] Ibid., p. 29.
[2] Sir Edward Cook, volume i, p. 479.

The greatest Evangelical reformer of all was Shaftesbury.[1] At the base of the Shaftesbury Memorial in the heart of Piccadilly Circus in London is carved a striking inscription composed by W. E. Gladstone:

> During a public life of half a century, Lord Shaftesbury devoted the influence of his station, the strong sympathy of his heart and the great power of his mind to honouring God by serving his fellow-men—an example to his order, a blessing to his people, and a name to be by them ever gratefully remembered.

Great Britain was the first of the countries of the world to become industrialized. The Industrial Revolution brought about a sorry exploitation of the toiling masses, for whom Deism had done little.

Shaftesbury described himself as 'an Evangelical of the Evangelicals,' and this called him into a crusade for the betterment of humanity and gave an unparalleled demonstration of Christian love, rather than of class hatred, love harnessed to improvement of the lot of the working poor.[2]

Before Lord Shaftesbury's reforms, workers were caught in a treadmill of competitive labour which served to keep them straining for sixteen hours a day. Shaftesbury and his friends put an end to that by legislation limiting operation of factories to ten hours a day, introducing a Saturday half-holiday, and abolishing all unnecessary Sunday labour.[3]

Shaftesbury's Mines and Collieries Act made impossible any further exploitation of women or children in coal mines where they had been used to drag coal in heavy wagons along darksome tunnels. His Chimney Sweep Acts prohibited the use of little boys to clean narrow factory chimneys of soot—many a child had suffocated in the task and others had been maimed therein. He also delivered children in the country from an agricultural exploitation as terrible as that of the factories. Shaftesbury, by his Lunacy Acts, transformed the lot of the insane from abused prisoners to patients.

[1] J.W.Bready, 1942, pp. 261—262; see also Bready's biography of Lord Shaftesbury.
[2] E. Hodder, volume iii, p. 3.
[3] J. W. Bready, 1942, pp. 264ff.

Shaftesbury promoted public parks, playing fields, gymnasia, garden allotments, workmen's institutes, public libraries, night schools, choral and debating societies, and other ideas of self-help.[1]

Even Kenneth Scott Latourette in his weighty volumes has confessed that there is not enough space to list more than a few of the reformers and reforms impelled by evangelical motivation.[2] Nine out of ten of Lord Shaftesbury's colleagues in social and industrial reform were as much the products of Evangelicalism as the Earl himself.[3] A cotton-mill owner, John Wood, provided most of the money needed for the Ten Hours' Crusade. Richard Oastler, who did so much for the factory children, was a Methodist lay preacher. Others in the crusade were active in the lay preaching of the gospel. The Ten Hours' Act proved to be the Magna Carta of the liberty of industrial workers, closing factories at 6 p.m., keeping them closed for twelve hours, preventing labour from being robbed of evening and Sunday leisure.[4]

It is significant that trade unionism grew during this period of the social impact of the gospel. British trade unionism owed much to the six Dorchester labourers who were transported to the Australian penal colonies for seven years of servitude.[5] Their crime was that of forming an Agricultural Union to resist further depression of their wages as farm hands, wages already cut to a below-subsistence level of a shilling a day.[6] These labourers were guilty of no violence and no intimidation, not even a strike. In 1834, all six were dragged from their homes and condemned.

These Dorchester labourers, often called the 'Tolpuddle martyrs,' included three Methodist local preachers and two others active in the Tolpuddle Methodist Chapel. A sixth man professed no religious convictions, but was so impressed with the religious life of one of his companions, who slaved

[1] see E. Hodder's standard biography of Shaftesbury.
[2] K. S. Latourette, IV, p. 155.
[3] J. W. Bready, 1942, p. 265.
[4] Ibid., p. 266.
[5] on Trade Unionism, see Sidney & Beatrice Webb.
[6] J. W. Bready, 1942, pp. 269.

with him in a convict gang, that he became a Christian and a Sunday-School superintendent in later life.[1] An aroused public opinion forced the early pardon of these working men and their transportation home. The trade union cause had won a round in its battle for working men's elementary rights. Christian leadership continued for a hundred years.

Prime Minister David Lloyd George paid an unusual tribute to evangelical influence in trade unions in these careful paragraphs:[2]

> The movement which improved the condition of the working classes, in wages, hours of labour, and otherwise, found most of its best officers and non-commissioned officers in men trained in institutions which were the result of Methodism . . . John Wesley inaugurated a movement which gripped the soul of England, that deepened its spiritual instincts, trained them and uplifted them; the result is that when a great appeal is made to either England or America, there is always the response . . . and it is due to the great Religious Revival of the eighteenth century.

Thus it was in the nineteenth century largely that the great Wesley-Whitefield Revival bore the fruit cultivated by converts of later awakenings, in Britain and the United States.

It cannot be denied that the influence of Great Britain upon the United States of America was a powerful force, especially in the realm of social progress. As Great Britain was first industrialized, the hitherto unknown problems of industrial life were therein first encountered and overcome.

The decades following 1830 in American life have been called by historians[3] 'The Sentimental Years,' for it was a time when organized good works flourished as never before.[4] There was scarcely an object of benevolence that lacked a dedicated society or institution,[5] and all of the organizations (whether church-related or not) were directly indebted to the Evangelical Awakening of the times.

[1] Ibid., p. 269. [2] Ibid., p. 275.
[3] E. D. Branch used the term for 1836-1860.
[4] W. W. Sweet, 1945, p. 159.
[5] G. H. Barnes, pp. 18-28.

In the United States, there were societies to promote education, to reform prisons, to stop prostitution, to colonize Africa with freed slaves, to advance the cause of peace, to provide social and spiritual amenities for sailors in port—not to mention the multitude of home and foreign mission societies, Bible and tract societies, Sunday School associations and temperance clubs.[1]

Schools and high schools and colleges were founded in the United States as a result of the Awakenings of 1800 onwards in many churches and colleges, awakenings which provided not only founders but teaching staffs. Most of the denominational school and high school systems gave way to free public school programmes. Latourette declared:

> Even more important, the initiative and the early leadership in the creation of the system of free public schools supported by the state came largely from those who seem to have caught their inspiration from the Protestant wing of Christianity.[2]

Much the same was true of Great Britain and the parts of Europe influenced by the Evangelical Awakenings.

A Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was founded in London in 1824, and became the largest as well as the oldest society of its kind in the world. Not only did it endeavour to stamp out cruelty, but it offered free veterinary service to as many as a quarter million mute creatures annually. It is not surprising to learn that the founder of the Society was an evangelical clergyman, Arthur Broome, and that Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, the evangelical emancipator, chaired the first meeting assisted by his friends Wilberforce and Mackintosh.[3] This was a fitting climax to a campaign by Evangelicals against cruel sports, bull-baiting, cock-fighting and other matches that caused pain to animals. In the United States, the spread of camp-meeting evangelism repressed brutal sports, and in Britain (in Trevelyan's word) it was 'humanitarianism and religiosity.'[4]

[1] W. W. Sweet, 1942, p. 159.
[2] K. S. Latourette, IV, p. 416.
[3] On the R.S.P.C.A., see Fairholme & Pain.
[4] G. M. Trevelyan, p. 504.

Chapter VII

Encounter with the Bantu

The Bantu tribes[1] of Negro-Hamitic origins, had already crossed the Limpopo when the first European settlers were arriving at the Cape of Good Hope, a thousand miles south. Between Bantu and European lay a wide tract of territory which provided sparse subsistence for the nomadic Bushmen and pastoral Hottentots, neither of them related to the Bantu who warred upon them.

An attractive people with a musical language, the Bantu were possessed of a tribal organization capable of withstanding the impact of European colonists. It must be recognized that they lacked some elements of civilization. Their bravery, even chivalry in battle, was unquestioned, but many of their customs were considered barbaric by European and Asian observers.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century produced a military genius among the Zulus who attacked and decimated three hundred tribes, butchering and burning so that it was said that not a single square mile of what is now Natal was left unsodden by the blood of his victims. Chaka and his impis[2] (including runaway rebels against his tyranny) desolated a wide swathe of territory that lay as comparatively empty as the southwestern veld where the Bantu were unknown.

Among his own people, Chaka killed as the notion took him, not only individuals to whom he took a dislike but masses of people—on one occasion four hundred women were stabbed to death for entertainment. When his royal mother died, Chaka killed ten of her women servants, ordered all milk to be spilt on the ground for a year, all calves to be separated from their mothers, and all husbands and wives to be slain if pregnancy occurred to prove their cohabitation.

[1] Remains in northern Transvaal at Mapungubwe were designated of Bantu origin by some experts, see L. Fouché & P. J. Coertze, editors of Reports on the Excavations at Mapungubwe.
[2] see T. V. Bulpin, on Chaka and the Zulus.

Henry Francis Fynn, an English pioneer, counted seven thousand corpses of those massacred in one afternoon in mourning for Chaka's mother.[1]

British traders tried to obtain a concession of land in the denuded territory south of the Zulu homeland, in what was called Natal. A British naval officer, Allen Gardiner,[2] who later laid down his life for the Gospel in Tierra del Fuego, tried to gain an entrance for Church Missionary Society workers to reach the Zulus; and Francis Owen, an Anglican clergyman, actually lived at the savage court of Chaka's successor, before giving up in sheer horror of existence.[3]

It was Chaka's policy to keep the territory to the south of Zulu country denuded of inhabitants. His terror drove the weaker Bantu tribes before him, hence pressure mounted on a line drawn by Europeans as 'the Kaffir boundary.' A series of Kaffir wars ensued. Fear covered the whole of southeastern Africa like a blanket of fog, Xhosa fear of the Zulu, English fear of the Kaffir.

Joseph Williams of the London Missionary Society carried the message to the Xhosa-speaking folk who represented the first great wave of Bantu advance to the southwest.[4] His converts survived his premature death, and were gathered into a continuing congregation by John Brownlee.

The 1822 and 1831 Revivals among British settlers, chiefly Wesleyan in character, moved Christians to evangelize the heathen Bantu and Hottentots. Near the Buffalo river, the Rev. Samuel Young was preaching in the Wesleyville station when a man began to cry aloud until the whole congregation was affected. 'Every soul seemed to feel much of the presence of God.'[5] A score of inquirers were registered.

[1] H. F. Fynn, Diary (edited, Pietermaritzburg 1950)
[2] see Allen F. Gardiner's narrative of a journey to the Zulu Country in South Africa.
[3] Diary of the Rev. Francis Owen, Missionary with Dingaan in 1837-1838 (edited by G. E. Cory).
[4] see Basil F. Holt's treatise on Joseph Williams and the Southeastern Bantu.
[5] Methodist Conferences, London, 1832-1834, volume vii, pp. 6-7, Missionary Notices.

These local awakenings often continued for months on end. The Methodist missionaries were delighted to win so many of various racial and tribal origins, and the British military commander was pleased with their advancement in civilization.[1] One of many chiefs converted was Kama, the first fruit of Bantu chiefs who embraced Christianity.

Among the converts of the Awakening stirring the 1820 Settlers was Joseph Warner, who went forth as evangelist among the Tembu, and who gave two sons to the Methodist ministry. Another was Henry H. Dugmore, who became a circuit-superintendent, ministering to both Europeans and their Bantu neighbours.[2]

Robert Moffat, another Scot, devoted himself to evangelizing the Bantu tribes of Botswanaland.[3] When he and his wife Mary arrived at Kuruman, they found 'not a ray of light' in the darkness of local social and spiritual conditions.[4] A spiritual awakening began in 1829. Within five years, the population of the station had risen to 727, with 115 scholars being taught in the school; the attendances at worship on Sundays rose to 340, on weekdays to 130, and 29 were regular communicants.[5] Robert Moffat—unbelievably to some—won the notorious chief, Africander, to a vital Christian faith.

The awakening in Botswanaland continued. A report of 1832 from the Plaatberg Circuit claimed that the average attendance for many months was five hundred, and sometimes rose to a thousand in Christian worship.[6]

There was similar blessing in the Transkei, where the inhabitants were Xhosa-speaking. At Butterworth,[7] the local Methodist missionary read a letter from Wesleyville which told of revival:

[1] Ibid., p. 136 .
[2] W. Eversleigh, p. 101.
[3] see biography of Robert and Mary Moffat (J.S.Moffat
[4] Robert Moffat, 1842, p. 496.
[5] J. du Plessis, 191 , p. 163.
[6] Minutes of Methodist District Meeting of 1832, in Grahamstown, Archives in Cory Library.
[7] Methodist Conferences, London, 1832-34, volume vii, p. 9, Missionary Notices.

> Cries at this time became general throughout the chapel so that my voice and the voices of those who prayed were drowned; and when we were compelled to break up the meeting, many went away from the chapel crying and sobbing.

Most of the Wesleyan stations in the Transkei and other Bantu areas experienced a visitation. The manifestations of the awakenings in the Motherlands were being seen and heard among primitive peoples.

Before the end of 1834, the Sixth Kaffir War had broken out; within a few days, many settlers had been murdered and hundreds of homesteads destroyed by invading Amaxhosa impis.[1] Mission stations were destroyed, and missionaries fled for their lives.

Another extraordinary awakening began in 1837, again in Grahamstown, the large chapel being crowded for prayer night after night, many professing to find faith, more than two hundred in number.[2] In its membership, the European Circuit increased from 315 to 609 in a single year. The awakening spread to the Bantu congregations, taxing every bit of space. Probationers increased in number rapidly, accredited members more slowly.

In the same quarter of the century, another product of the Awakening in Scotland arrived in South Africa, a significant event. David Livingstone married Moffat's daughter, Mary. At first he took his wife and children with him on his long and dangerous journeys, but after losing his youngest child and almost losing all the others, he sent them home and pursued his extraordinary explorations alone. His heroic exploits pointed a way to the evangelization and civilization of the interior of Africa.[3]

[1] Methodist Conference, January 1838, Missionary Notices, p. 13; cf. W. Shaw, p. 186.
[2] Minutes, Fourteenth Annual Methodist District Meeting, 5th February 1838 at Butterworth, in the Archives of the Methodist Church, Cory Library.
[3] On Livingstone, see C. Northcott, G. Seaver and others; also the bibliography edited in 1949 by M.E. Appleyard, University of Cape Town Library.

Scotsmen were not only well represented in the London Missionary Society, but also in national societies. Scottish Presbyterians contributed a major benefaction to the education of Bantu folk by founding, along with other schools, the Lovedale Institution in 1841.[1]

Anglicans were somewhat tardy in their outreach to the Bantu, their belated ministry chiefly to English settlers and officials absorbing their energies until the coming of Bishop Gray, a dynamic churchman, in 1847.[2]

In 1835,[3] the American Board (Congregationalist) entered Natal to evangelize the Zulus. In 1829, the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society—a product of the Revival in France—sent its first missionaries to South Africa; and in 1833 they entered Lesotho and founded an abiding work. Their greatest pioneer was François Coillard,[4] himself a revivalist whose heart had been kindled by the ministry of Haldane in France.

Another Revival-sparked society, the Rhenish Mission, sent out its first missionaries to South African Hottentots and Bantu in 1829. They were followed by its sister Berlin Missionary Society in 1834.[5] Yet another missionary product of the Revival in Europe, begun through an awakening in 1848 in Hanover, was the Hermannsburg Mission.[6]

The Awakening in Norway under Hans Nielsen Hauge led on to the sending of Hans Schreuder and a Norwegian Mission to the Zulus of Natal, in the years following 1843.[7] Schreuder was a forerunner of several Scandinavian enterprises.

It is an inescapable conclusion that pagan tribespeople in South Africa were being evangelized by missionaries thrust forth in the awakenings in South Africa and the overseas Motherlands, and that these same kind of awakenings were used to win great numbers of pagans to Christ in a remarkably fruitful beginning of the evangelization of Africa.

[1] see R. H. W. Shepherd, on Lovedale, South Africa. cf. G. E. Cory, 1910-1930, volume ii, pp. 96ff and
[2] C. F. Pascoe, pp. 269-273, on the S.P.G.
[3] W. E. Strong, pp. 132ff.
[4] see C. W. Mackintosh, pp. 3ff, on Coillard.
[5] J. du Plessis, pp. 200ff. [6] Ibid., p. 373
[7] A. Burgess, pp. 104ff.

Johann Ludwig Krapf of Würtemberg was an obvious product of the post-Napoleonic Revival in Germany.[1] Receiving his training at Basel, he entered the service of the Church Missionary Society in Africa. After several attempts to enter closed doors, he moved southwards to Zanzibar and Mombasa to preach, becoming proficient in Swahili. Krapf dreamed of a chain of mission stations across the breadth of Africa. The fulfillment of such a dream awaited the coming of recruits from the next series of evangelical awakenings.

What of the remainder of Africa, south of the Sahara? It was indeed a Dark Continent. First European contacts with Black Africa had come through the nefarious Slave Trade, in which the professedly Christian nations followed the Arab example in abetting raids on innocent tribes.

In the early nineteenth century, this Slave Trade was suppressed, but settlements around the coasts begun for trading purposes continued. Explorers and missionaries began to traverse the continent. Then there followed the 'Scramble for Africa' in which European nations carved up the continent for themselves.

In many instances, missionaries preceded the flag; in the others, they followed it. Their motives seldom coincided with that of the colonizers. In a majority of cases, their heroic sacrifices for the cause were motivated by genuinely humanitarian and spiritual considerations. That this was so was due in part to the provision of personnel through the Evangelical Awakenings in South Africa and the Motherlands.

[1] see Dr. Ludwig Krapf's biography, by W. Claus.

Chapter VIII

The Movement of a People

A shattering epidemic of smallpox had wiped out a multitude of Hottentots in the early eighteenth century, and left the southwest hinterland of the Cape open for settlement. In the early nineteenth century, the military power of Zulu impis had denuded Natal of its Bantu inhabitants in a bloody slaughter, while similar raids emptied the high veld in what became the Orange Free State and the southern Transvaal.

The emptied areas seemed suitable for white settlement, and became the target of British and Afrikaner colonization, the former arriving by sea and the latter overland.

There was much discontent in the Cape after the earliest adjustment to British rule, as stated. As for government itself, British rule was no worse than that of the Netherlands East Indies Company. But the English language supplanted Dutch officially, while land tenure was changed. And wise Governors were often replaced by men who reversed all the conciliatory policies of their predecessors and so dissipated the goodwill engendered among Afrikaners. The geography of South Africa had taught these Boers[1] a remedy against the tyranny of nature—trekking: so the same remedy was used for the maladies due to the tyranny of man.

The causes of the Great Trek of Cape Boers were many, but its achievements were unique in their historical and geographical significance.[2] A comparatively small body of men, women and children, with their cattle, servants and household effects, started north into the unknown of a Dark Continent, traversed tremendous distances, scaled great heights, to found republics of free men in the wilderness.[3]

The epic movement of the earliest Voortrekkers, as they were called, has been described in English and Afrikaans literature in graphic language:

[1] On the trekboers, see P. J. van der Merwe.
[2] There are three-score items listed in a standard bibliography of the Great Trek, chiefly Afrikaans.
[3] see E. A. Walker, fifth edition, 1965.

It was then, at the gap discovered by the women, that the adventurous descent began. First there was the uppermost precipice, almost but not quite sheer. The hind wheels were taken off the wagons, and the bows were fastened below the axles to prevent the rivets from catching in any obstacle or breaking off. Thongs were tied to the wheels for use in the braking. Apparently two oxen were used for each wagon, the oxen themselves acting as brakes rather than to pull, for wagons would have been smashed to pieces. This process was repeated with every wagon. The descent began on 9th of December 1837, and it was 28th of January 1838, before it was finally accomplished, and they stood upon the eastern plain.[1]

That was the crossing of the Drakensberg, a formidable barrier two miles high and rugged beyond description.

In the records of the European race, there is nothing like this Trek, save the epic movement of the Mormons, under Brigham Young, who set up the state of Deseret in the wilds of Utah.[2] The resemblance does not end there. Both groups were intensely religious, the former orthodox and the latter unorthodox: both fled from what they felt was an intolerable persecution: likewise, both the Voortrekkers and Mormons renounced the legitimate government of the land of their birth, but agreed to admit some sort of suzerainty: and both groups found that their governments refused to consider them anything but straying citizens and subjects, in consequence of which both were absorbed later by a pursuing imperialism. What Great Britain did to the Trekkers was repeated by the United States to the Mormons within a generation.

On the eastern side of the mighty Drakensberg lay the country of Natal. In 1823, English settlers tried to obtain a concession from the bloodthirsty Zulu chief, Chaka. A year following, he awarded them a tract of land around Port Natal, with a boundary one hundred miles inland and with an extension of territory to the Umzimkulu river in the south.[3]

[1] from Manfred Nathan, on the Voortrekkers.
[2] On Brigham Young, see M. R. Hunter, passim.
[3] Diary of H. F. Fynn, edited by Stuart & Malcolm.

The small British settlement was absolutely dependent on the favour of Chaka, demonic in desire for military conquest and in lust for spiteful killing. Chaka was assassinated in 1828 by his half-brother Dingaan, more treacherous while scarcely less cruel. Life was very uncertain for everyone.

Meanwhile, the Voortrekkers were approaching Natal from the landward side. Piet Retief led a small group of Boers over the Drakensberg, and was welcomed by the Englishmen and the Zulu king. While the main body waited after the crossing of the Tugela river, Retief and seventy companions interviewed the Zulu tyrant. By treachery, the Zulus stabbed the emissaries to death, then fell on the main body suddenly and slaughtered three hundred men, women and children, at a place afterwards called Weenen (Weeping).[1]

The Boers sent for help, and in 1838, Andries Pretorius took command.[2] On 16th December, a small body of determined Voortrekkers were attacked by a large Zulu army at a place across the Tugela, later called Blood River.[3] Three thousand Zulus were killed, the others put to flight. Dingaan was defeated by Panda, his own brother, and later murdered. Natal fell into Boer hands, a Republic of Natalia being set up with simple government, its capital at Pietermaritzburg.[4]

To the Cape Government, however, these Boers were only straying British subjects. The Governor of the Cape invited them as British subjects to return thither, while they in turn began to negotiate,[5] asking to be recognized as 'a free and independent people with the privileges of British subjects.' Later they asked to be recognized as a republic in closest alliance with Great Britain.

In 1838, the British government occupied the settlement at Port Natal, but withdrew their garrison till 1842 when

[1] Annals of Natal, volume i, p. 369, 401. (J. Bird)
[2] Diary of the Rev. Francis Owen, pp. 106ff. (Cory)
[3] Journal of the Expedition of the Voortrekkers against Dingaan, king of the Zulus, in the Annals of Natal, volume i, pp. 438ff. (edited by J. Bird)
[4] see J. H. Breytenbach, editor of Notule van die Natalse Volksraad, 1839-1845.
[5] Annals of Natal, volume i, p. 611. (edited J. Bird)

it was finally annexed after a fight with the Boers.[1] From then onward, English-speaking colonists began to arrive in force, and soon swamped the Boer settlements. Natal thus continued to be a British Colony, and, at the time of Union, was the most sentimentally-British of the provinces.

Trekking Boers had crossed over the Orange river from the Cape Colony, and soon came into conflict with the fierce Matabele—Zulus who had gathered around Umsilikazi, one of Chaka's generals who had incurred Chaka's wrath and had fled, devastating vast areas and their peoples. With calmest courage and wisest planning, the Boers defeated their enemy by a combination of laager and straightshooting methods.[2] It was their plan to arrange their wagons in a circle or a rectangle, to shelter the women and children inside, and to decimate their enemies through gaps in this movable fort.

The Matabele were defeated at the Marico in the western Transvaal. The Boers proceeded to elect representative bodies and thus laid the groundwork of the governmental institutions of the two Afrikaner republics.[3] Pretorius, the leader of the Natal Boers, returned after the loss of Natal.

In 1848, Sir Harry Smith, a popular and energetic governor of the Cape Colony, declared the territory taken over by the trekking farmers between the Orange, Vaal and Drakensberg to be under the sovereignty of Queen Victoria.[4] The Boers took up arms and awaited developments on their border on the Orange river. On 29th August 1848, the Boers and British came into collision at Boomplaats,[5] where, in spite of terrain which favoured the farmers, the armed resistance of the Boers was broken.

Thus, the Orange Free State became the Orange River Sovereignty, and a legislative body was given it. Settlers came up from Cape Colony and the territory prospered, but there was an undercurrent of dissatisfaction, with a strong

[1] Ibid., pp. 700ff.
[2] E. A. Walker, 1963, second edition, p. 210. (On the western American frontier, the same method for defence of a wagon-train was often used.)
[3] Ibid., p. 211.
[4] Ibid., p. 240.
[5] Ibid., p. 241.

movement of Dutch and English burghers for self-government, not necessarily disloyalty to the Queen. But the vacillating policy of the British ministries, and the ever-recurring war on the frontier, brought about a state of mind in London and Cape Town willing to give up the Sovereignty.

In 1854, a Convention met in Bloemfontein in which the British government renounced the Sovereignty, and freely guaranteed the independence of the emigrant farmers in the Orange Free State.[1] At the same time, the Cape Colony itself received representative government. The independence of the Boers who had settled beyond the Vaal river to the north had already been recognized, and the South African Republic had been set up in the Transvaal.[2]

Meanwhile, European and Bantu had come into collision on the eastern frontier of Cape Colony, and the British found themselves fighting against an aggressive Xhosa (southern Nguni) combination. There were raids and counter-invasions and the frontier moved backwards and forwards until the middle of the century, when it was established at the Kei river.[3] In the same decade (1857) a large body of German soldiers, who had fought for the British in the Crimean War, were settled on the eastern frontier and became successful colonists.[4] East of the Kei river was recognized as Xhosa territory, still known as the Transkei.

The division of South Africa into its four major political entities did not mean division into watertight compartments. Despite the widening gaps in political thought, there were many things held in common. Neither must it be thought that the division into republics and colonies followed a line of a linguistic cleavage. Cape Colony was still dominantly Dutch, Cape Town being the largest city, with Port Elizabeth a fair way behind, the older city being more Dutch than English, the younger city vice versa. Likewise, in the middle of the nineteenth century, numbers of English-speaking settlers farmed in the Orange Free State and Transvaal, just as content to be under Boer government as were Dutch in the Cape to be British subjects. Harmony was not at all uncommon.

[1] Ibid., pp. 265ff.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., p. 259.
[4] Ibid., p. 297.

Chapter IX

Revival in America, 1858—

Between 1845 and 1855, religious life in the United States of America was in decline. There were many reasons for the decline, political and social as well as religious.[1] The slavery question was of paramount importance and men's passions and energies were being diverted into the channels of contention on either side of the controversy.

Many people at the time lost faith in spiritual things because of the extremes of apocalyptists. And between 1845 and 1855 there were several years in which the number of church accessions had scarcely kept pace with the losses due to a relenting discipline and a relentless death rate.

Financial and commercial prosperity had an adverse effect upon the American people of the mid-century. The zeal of the people was devoted to the accumulation of wealth, and other things (including religion) took a lesser place. Cheap and fertile land attracted multitudes of settlers. Boom times caught the public fancy, and turned men's hearts from God.

These secular and religious conditions combined to bring about a crash. The third great panic in American history swept the whole giddy structure of speculative wealth away. Thousands of merchants were forced to the wall as banks failed and railroads went into bankruptcy. Factories were shut down, and vast numbers thrown out of employment, New York City alone having 30,000 idle men. In October 1857, the hearts of the people were thoroughly weaned from their speculation and uncertain gain, while despair stared them in the face.[2]

For the beginnings of the 1858 religious revival which was soon to sweep the United States, it is necessary to look beyond the boundaries of the Union. The first unusual stream of blessing arose not in New York, as commonly supposed, but in the city of Hamilton, in Ontario in Canada.[3]

[1] F. G. Beardsley, pp. 213-214.
[2] T. W. Chambers, p. 284.
[3] The Revival, London, 17 September 1859.

A major Methodist weekly journal, published in New York,[1] on 5th November 1857 reported in a prominent headline a 'Revival Extraordinary' which stated that three hundred to four hundred had made public profession of conversion.

The account of this extraordinary revival of religion deeply moved hundreds of wistful pastors in the Methodist Episcopal Church, America's largest and most evangelistic body of believers. Among other signs of preparation of heart for an Awakening were the calling in December 1857 of conventions at Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, gatherings under Presbyterian auspices which were largely attended.[2]

On 1st July 1857, a quiet but zealous businessman named Jeremiah Lanphier took an appointment as city missionary in downtown New York.[3] Burdened by the great general need, Lanphier decided to invite others to join him in a noonday prayer meeting to be held once a week on Wednesdays. He therefore distributed a handbill:

> How Often Shall I Pray?—As often as the language of prayer is in my heart; as often as I see my need of help; as often as I feel the power of temptation . . . or any spiritual declension . . . or a worldly spirit.[4]

Accordingly, at twelve noon, 23rd September 1857,[5] the door was opened wide and the faithful Lanphier awaited the response until, at about 12.30, six people had arrived, such being the beginning of a world-wide movement.

Contrary to some opinion, these prayer meetings began before the bank panic. Within six months, ten thousand businessmen were gathering daily in New York City for prayer. Within two years, a million converts had been added to the American churches.

Undoubtedly the greatest revival in New York's colourful history was sweeping the city and it was of such an order to make the whole nation curious. There was no fanaticism, no hysteria, just an incredible movement of the people to pray. The services were not devoted to preaching. Instead

[1] Christian Advocate, New York, 5 November 1857.
[2] Presbyterian Magazine, September 1858.
[3] T. W. Chambers, pp. 33-34.
[4] Ibid., p. 42.
[5] Ibid., p. 43.

anyone was free to pray. Reporters in the national capital, Washington,[1] noted that in New York 'religious interest has been growing in the midst of the rowdyism everywhere so long prevalent,' adding that 'religious revivals were never more numerous or effective.'

Then the churches began to feel the impact of the noonday meetings, which were largely laymen's voluntary efforts. One typical example of happy reaction in the churches was that the Thirteenth Presbyterian Church received by public profession of faith on one Sunday 133 new members.[2]

On 17th March, Burton's Theatre in Chambers Street, Brooklyn, was thrown open for a noonday prayer meeting organized and financed by local merchants. Indeed, the owner of the theatre, Mr. Burton, was perfectly willing for them to operate religious services there, and he himself had expressed a desire to be prayed for. Half an hour before the time for the service, the theatre was packed in every corner from the pit to the roof. By noon, the entrances were so thronged that it required great exertions to get within a hearing distance, and no amount of elbowing could force an entrance so far as to gain sight of the stage! People clung to each projection along the walls, and they piled themselves on the seats, and crowded the stage beneath, above and behind the curtain. The street in front was crowded with vehicles, and the excitement was 'tremendous.' Almost all in the great assembly were businessmen, only two hundred being ladies, with fifty clergymen present. The Rev. Theodore Cuyler led the service. And theatre after theatre in the metropolis and in other cities also was thus occupied at noon by businessmen simply desiring to pray.[3]

At first, the newspapers reported that 6,110 people were attending noon prayer meetings in New York (Manhattan only in those days).[4] Then the numbers increased beyond easy calculation. And before very long, 10,000 New Yorkers had

[1] National Intelligencer, Washington, 2 March 1858 & 11 March 1858.
[2] Ibid., 23 March 1858.
[3] W. C. Conant, p. 362.
[4] New York Herald, 26 March 1858.

been converted to God and committed to the care of local churches. In May, a good authority gave the total for the city as 50,000 converts.[1] American papers from coast to coast carried the news of the awakening in the metropolis.

Soon similar manifestations were reported in New England, the Ohio Valley, Pennsylvania and the South, even to the farthest West. In Canada, there was the same evidence of religious zeal. The phenomenon of the packed churches, together with startling conversions, occurred everywhere.

The influence of the Awakening was felt everywhere in the nation. It first captured the great cities, but it also spread through every town and village and country hamlet. It swamped schools and colleges. It affected all classes regardless of condition. A Divine influence seemed to pervade the land, and men's hearts were strangely warmed by a Power that was outpoured in unusual ways.[2] There was no fanaticism. There was expressed a remarkable unanimity of approval by religious and secular observers alike, with scarcely a critical voice heard anywhere. The numbers converted soon reached the total of 50,000 weekly. There followed a geographical expansion of the movement over the whole country.

By March 1858, the awakening in Boston like its counterpart in New York City had become news to the whole nation.[3] The Boston correspondent of Washington's leading journal affirmed that religion had become the chief concern not only in Boston but throughout New England.[4] The meetings for prayer, he reported, were crowded and solemn, with the whole assembly sometimes in tears under the melting power of the Holy Spirit.

A few days later, the same journal reported that there were several New England towns in which not one adult could be found unconverted.[5] Charles Finney had been preaching

[1] J. Shaw, pp. 182-184;
cf. Presbyterian Magazine, June 1858.
[2] J. Edwin Orr, 1949, p. 21.
[3] Daily Transcript, Boston, 5 March 1858.
[4] National Intelligencer, Washington, 20 March 1858.
[5] Ibid., 23 March 1858.

in Park Street Church when the 1858 Revival overtook the city. It became, in his own words, 'too general to keep any account at all of the number of converts, or to allow of any estimate being made that would approximate the truth.'

The movement in New England generally was even more powerful than in the metropolis. The most numerous denomination[1] reported 11,744 added upon profession of faith in the revival period; another claimed 8,479 in a few months;[2] while two hundred and sixty smaller centres of population reported more than ten thousand conversions in two months.[3]

Awakenings occurred in the colleges. Yale experienced a movement in which it was 'impossible to estimate the number of conversions,' though later it was reported that 45 seniors, 62 juniors, 60 sophomores and 37 freshmen had responded.[4]

The Middle Atlantic States were moved in the same way.[5] It became a common sight to see business houses closed, with a notice 'will reopen at the close of the prayer meeting.'

A leading Newark pastor affirmed that the awakening in New Jersey was winning the most mature minds in the community. Of 177 received into a Methodist congregation in New Brunswick in the same state, 112 were heads of families.

The first noon day prayer meeting was held in the metropolis of Philadelphia on 23rd November 1857. For months, the response proved disappointing. In February, the meeting was moved to a little ante-room in Jayne's Hall, with twenty and thirty, forty and fifty, and then sixty attending.[6]

In March the room overflowed, and 2500 seats were filled; then by extending the space, fully 6000 folk filled the floor, platform and galleries.[7] In May a canvas cathedral was purchased, and no less than 150,000 aggregate attended during the summer season.[8] The churches claimed 5000 converts.

[1] Congregational Quarterly, Boston, January 1858.
[2] Christian Advocate, New York, 15 July 1858.
[3] J. Shaw, pp. 182-184.
[4] Christian Advocate, 12 May 1858.
[5] W. C. Conant, p. 368.
[6] W. F. Noble, p. 420.
[7] Christian Advocate, 6 May 1858.
[8] W. F. Noble, p. 422.

It was the same in Washington, the national capital, where five daily prayer meetings were begun.[1] The leading journal commented that religious excitement in the city was raging unabated, five thousand or so attending the service in the hall of the Academy of Music.[2]

It was impossible to keep record of all the awakenings that moved the towns and villages and country places of the Middle Atlantic States. The movement spread into the South.

Writing of the 1858 Awakening, Charles Finney, an ardent abolitionist, affirmed:

> Slavery seemed to shut it out from the South. The people there were in such a state of irritation, of vexation, and of committal to their peculiar institution that had come to be assailed on every side, that the Spirit of God seemed to be grieved away from them.[3]

This opinion, echoed by more recent historians, was in fact without foundation. A Southern Presbyterian authority in July 1859 protested that the awakening was 'not northern or southern, eastern or western,' and declared that the revival in the South had reached as far as the Florida reefs.[4] Great prayer meetings were reported from Richmond, Raleigh, Charleston, Columbia, New Orleans, Memphis, Nashville and other cities.[5] Allowance must be made for the fact that the South possessed no great industrial cities, that the southern population was scattered in the usual agricultural pattern.

Bishop Warren Candler insisted that the results of the awakening were 'in proportion to the population, greater in the South' than elsewhere.[6] Statistics show that the years 1858, 1859 and 1860 added more than 100,000 converts to the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and that the equally large Southern Baptist denomination shared the blessing of enlargement in like manner.[7]

[1] W. C. Conant, p. 375.
[2] National Intelligencer, Washington, 1 April 1858.
[3] C. G. Finney, p. 444.
[4] Southern Presbyterian Review, July 1859.
[5] Presbyterian Magazine, Philadelphia, June 1858.
[6] W. A. Candler, p. 216.
[7] Ibid., pp. 216-217.

The western states also were visited by this phenomenal movement. In Kalamazoo, in Michigan, the Anglicans with the Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians united in a general prayer meeting series. At the very first meeting, a prayer request was read: 'A praying wife requests the prayers of this meeting for her unconverted husband.' All at once, a burly man arose and said: 'I am that man . .' Another man arose to say the same. In a few minutes, seven men in all had responded and sought to be converted.[1]

Chicago, with 30,000 population at the mid-century, but 100,000 in 1860, found 2000 of its citizens at prayer daily at noon in the early months of the awakening, then a multitude of seekers becoming converts in the churches.[2]

It was during this 1858 winter and spring that Dwight Lyman Moody received his first great challenge to engage in Christian work, writing then to his mother in New England to tell of his constant attendance at services. During the hot summer of 1858, Moody gathered a class of unchurched boys to teach, their first session being held on a stranded log on a beach alongside Lake Michigan.[3]

There were thirty million people in all inhabiting the United States of America in 1860. More than a million of them professed conversion, joining the churches within two years. During the Civil War of 1861-65, vigorous evangelism continued in the Union Armies, and extraordinary awakenings broke out among Confederate troops going into battle.[4]

The awakening spread into other English-speaking areas of the western hemisphere. In 1859, a remarkable revival began in a Moravian church and spread through the chapels of the island of Jamaica.[5] Beginning in the south, it moved Christian congregations throughout the island, the central parishes, the north and south coasts, from Spanish Town to Savanna-la-Mar, from Montego Bay to Ann's Bay.

[1] T. W. Chambers, pp. 196-197.
[2] W. C. Conant, pp. 373-374.
[3] R. E. Day, p. 74. (the only possible date is 1858)
[4] W. W. Sweet, 1950, pp. 317ff.
[5] J. T. Hamilton, p. 457.

Among the former slave people brought by the British invaders of the United States in the War of 1812 to the island of Trinidad and granted land, traditions of the awakenings of 1800 lingered, and the 1859 Revival deeply moved these people also, with emotional accompaniments.

In the West Indies, once again mission chapels became crowded, and many were the conversions. The widespread conviction of sin diminished crime and raised the ethical standards. Old superstitions which had reasserted themselves once more declined in power. There was a certain amount of unhealthy excitement and religious hysteria in places, but real blessing from God accomplished a lasting good in the British Caribbean.[1]

The Awakening of 1858-59 onward provided the enterprise and volunteers for the invasions of the vast South American continent and its neighbours in Central America. Mexican evangelical work began in 1859,[2] Brazilian at the same time.[3] The doors to many Latin republics were opened by Anglo-Saxon and German immigration. Spanish-speaking and also Portuguese-speaking neighbours of the immigrants adopted the evangelical religion of the newcomers in many cases.

[1] E. A. Payne, pp. 88ff.
[2] M. Rankin, pp. 88ff.
[3] Braga & Grubb, pp. 50ff, 59ff.

Chapter X

Revival in Europe, 1859—

The news of the mid-century Awakening in the United States reached Europe in early 1858, by cable. The connection between the people of the United States and those of the United Kingdom was always immediate, but most intimate was the connection between Ulster and the tens of thousands of Ulster Americans across the Atlantic. So it is not surprising that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland sent an official deputation of two of its most honoured members to visit the United States: the Rev. William McClure and Prof. William Gibson (moderator-designate).[1] Following visits to the American centres of revival, the deeply-moved professor published his impressions of the work of God in Philadelphia, which he described as Pentecost.

Throughout Ulster,[2] reports of the American Awakening tended greatly to quicken the minds of both ministers and people. Many sermons on the topic of Revival were preached and the prayer meetings multiplied. The first appeared to be one begun in Kells near Ballymena by a young man named James McQuilkin who had been busy reading the testimony of George Müller, the man of faith, as well as hearing of the Awakening in America.[3] James McQuilkin said to himself: 'Why may we not have such a blessed work here?'

James McQuilkin and his prayer helpers held a meeting on the 14th March 1859, in the First Presbyterian Church at Ahoghill. Such a large crowd attended that 'it was deemed prudent to dismiss the meeting lest there be a fatal accident from the falling in of the galleries which threatened to give way under the alarming pressure.'[4] A layman thereupon addressed the three thousand people outside in chilling rain, and, moved by his fervour and apostolic language, hundreds

[1] Minutes, General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, volume ii, p. 678.
[2] General Assembly's Proceedings on Revival, 1859.
[3] Autobiography of George Müller, pp. 448ff.
[4] On revival at Ahoghill, see D. Adams, p. 7.

fell on their knees in the muddy street. This was the first outbreak of mass conviction in Ulster.

Three miles from Ahoghill is the prosperous marketing town of Ballymena, the hub of mid-Antrim, and nearby is the parish of Connor in which was begun the original prayer meeting. At that time, Ballymena had a population of six thousand, largely Presbyterian. The Ballymena newspaper first noticed the Awakening on March 26, then for six months was chronicling the events of the movement, and its very extensive social, moral and religious improvements.[1]

The Rev. Samuel J. Moore had noted several cases of deep conviction among his charges. Upon his return from the meeting of the Presbyterian Synod, he found the town in a great state of excitement, many families having neglected their overnight sleep for two preceding nights.[2]

A number of prepared young laymen devoted almost all of their time to the giving of spiritual and physical comforts to the scores of people in need of them. Prayer meetings were held all hours of the day and night, and the evangelical churches were open for evening services. The Presbyterian and Anglican and Methodist ministers and people united in mass meetings, including a gathering of five thousand in a local quarry.[3]

In the month of May 1859, the Awakening made its appearance in Belfast, then a busy city of 120,000 inhabitants, one third of whom were Roman Catholic. By the end of May, a morning newspaper was giving daily a half-column or a full column of space to Revival news.[4] The outbreak of revival fervour in Belfast came through a visit of 'converts from Connor.' It was in Berry Street Presbyterian Church that the greatest demonstration came. So many people lingered after the service that the Rev. Hugh Hanna reopened the church and took charge.[5] On the Lord's Day following, most of the evangelical churches were overcrowded by seekers.

[1] Ballymena Observer, 17 September 1859.
[2] J. Weir, p. 38.
[3] The Revival, London, 30 July 1859.
[4] Belfast News Letter, 30 May 1859.
[5] W. Gibson, pp. 66ff.

Dr. Knox, Bishop of the united dioceses of Down, Connor and Dromore, invited all his clergy to early breakfast in order to hear their opinion regarding the Revival, which apparently had his careful support.[1] All at length agreed that it was a work of God, but there was a difference of opinion among the clergymen concerning the 'prostrations' of sinners coming under conviction, some regarding them as hysteria, others as a Divine method of conviction. The Belfast Presbytery met and expressed gratitude to God for the Revival, also urging caution regarding the physical manifestations.[2] The ministers of the Wesleyan, Independent and Baptist churches supported the work from the start.

With something approaching unanimity, these ministers of Belfast commenced a united prayer meeting in the Music Hall, with the Mayor in the chair. The building was crowded to excess. A week later, the Bishop took the chair, assisted on the platform by 146 clergymen, including the Moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly and Presbyterian ministers, the President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference and Methodists preachers, Anglicans and Baptists, Congregationalists and Methodists, Presbyterians and Moravians, and even the well-known Dr. Montgomery of the Unitarian communion. Hundreds participated in overflow meetings, and thousands were turned away, the large hall proving inadequate.[3]

By June, most evangelical churches remained open and crowded for weekday services. Friends of the Awakening estimated that ten thousand people were converted (only a small proportion violently by prostration) in the weeks that followed.[4] Soon the movement was affecting all six Counties of the North, the historic city of Derry, the town of Armagh, and every major town; and also the Dublin pale.[5]

[1] The Revival, London, 6 August 1859.
[2] J. W. Massie, p. 46.
[3] Belfast Newslatter, 23 June 1859.
[4] J. Bailie, p. 45.
[5] J. Edwin Orr, pp. 53ff;
cf. J. T. Carson, 1959, for a very much more detailed account of the Awakening in Ulster.

The Church of Scotland General Assembly in Edinburgh, May 1860, after a year's observation of the great evangelical awakening in Scotland, unanimously approved an overture on Revivals of Religion:

> General Assembly, taking into consideration the gratifying evidences manifested in many countries, and in various districts of our own land, of an increased anxiety about salvation and deepening interest in religious ordinances, followed in so many cases by the fruits of holy living, desires to record its gratitude to God.[1]

The other two main branches of the dominant Presbyterianism of Scotland, whose adherents formed seventy per cent of the total population, declared in no uncertain way that Scotland was experiencing a revival of religion as striking as the movement in neighbouring Ulster.

In the middle of August 1859, the Awakening was manifested in all of Glasgow with all the suddenness of a summer thunderstorm.[2] Three-quarters of a column was devoted to a report of a public meeting held in the City Hall, which overcrowded gathering was chaired by Bailie Playfair. A similar meeting was held in Stockwell Free Church. Four days later, at 6:30 p.m. on the 19th August, a public meeting was held on Glasgow Green, and the local press reported that approximately 20,000 people were present.

The Awakening of 1859-60 permeated every corner of south-western Scotland, down to the vale of Dumfries and the borders of Cumberland.[3] A Highland Revival, sweeping up the western islands, spread over the northern highlands.[4]

The forerunner of the Edinburgh Awakening was a united prayer meeting commenced in April, 1858—when the news of the American Awakening crossed the Atlantic—held each Monday for about twenty-one months, becoming a daily noon prayer-service in January 1860. In this meeting, Church of Scotland, Free Church, United Presbyterian and other ministers worked together in unity.

[1] General Assembly, Church of Scotland, 26 May 1860
[2] North British Mail, 11, 12, 15 & 20 August 1859.
[3] The Revival, 14 January 1860.
[4] United Presbyterian Magazine, volume iv, p. 82.

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In the middle of August 1859, the Awakening was manifested in all of Glasgow with all the suddenness of a summer thunderstorm.[2] Three-quarters of a column was devoted to a report of a public meeting held in the City Hall, which overcrowded gathering was chaired by Bailie Playfair. A similar meeting was held in Stockwell Free Church. Four days later, at 6½:30 p.m. on the 19th August, a public meeting was held on Glasgow Green, and the local press reported that approximately 20,000 people were present.

The Awakening of 1859-60 permeated every corner of south-western Scotland, down to the vale of Dumfries and the borders of Cumberland.[3] A Highland Revival, sweeping up the western islands, spread over the northern highlands.[4]

The forerunner of the Edinburgh Awakening was a united prayer meeting commenced in April, 1858—when the news of the American Awakening crossed the Atlantic—held each Monday for about twenty-one months, becoming a daily noon prayer-service in January 1860. In this meeting, Church of Scotland, Free Church, United Presbyterian and other ministers worked together in unity.

[1] General Assembly, Church of Scotland, 26 May 1860
[2] North British Mail, 11, 12, 15 & 20 August 1859.
[3] The Revival, 14 January 1860.
[4] United Presbyterian Magazine, volume iv, p. 82.

In November, it was reported from Edinburgh that 'a very general expectation of a manifest outpouring of the Holy Spirit' existed.[1] Prof. Charles G. Finney, noted American revivalist, was in Edinburgh for a short visit at that time and his meetings were exceedingly well attended, producing many converts.[2] Strange things were already happening in meetings at the Carrubber's Close Mission, gladdening its workers.

By March 1860, the work of revival was making progress in Edinburgh and the surrounding district,[3] prayer meetings having been established in many towns and villages nearby, as well as in the city. Evangelistic meetings began to attract huge crowds, with happy results. Radcliffe and Weaver, the English evangelists, could not get a place large enough for their meetings. On one occasion, eighteen hundred crowded Richmond Place Chapel, while thousands more packed the street outside. Weaver and Radcliffe had to walk on the shoulders of stalwart men in order to alternate in ministry inside and outside the chapel. Hundreds remained behind for conversations, even though the preaching had gone on intermittently from seven until eleven p.m.

On the basis of incomplete Scottish statistics and comparisons with the results in the sister-Presbyterian Church in Ireland, it is calculated that the number of conversions in Scotland was ten per cent of the population of about three million, or three hundred thousand.[4]

The 1859 Revival in Wales can be traced to the direct influence of the American Awakening of 1858, rather than by way of the Ulster movement, as in Scotland.[5]

'Before the '59 Revival,' declared Principal T. C. Edwards of Bala College, 'the churches were withering away in our country; a wave of spiritual apathy and of practical infidelity had spread over Wales.'

[1] The Revival, 15 October 1859.
[2] The Freeman, 28 September 1859.
[3] Ibid., 11 January & 21 March 1866.
[4] J. Edwin Orr, 1949, p. 277.
[5] Ibid., p. 78; cf. Eifion Evans's account of the '59 Revival in Wales, giving greater detail based upon Welsh language sources.

So great was the impact of the Awakening which came in 1859 that in the year following, the number of criminal cases before local Welsh courts decreased from 1809 to 1228. The numerical increase in the churches was extraordinary. Prebendary John Venn of Hereford, a careful Anglican leader, estimated a total of 100,000 converts,[1] and in his history of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales (published 1871-1875), Thomas Rees stated that the number of conversions in the Revival of Nonconformists alone was between 85,000 and 95,000, these numerous converts with comparatively rare exceptions holding on remarkably well. And fully fifty years after the 1859 Awakening, it was demonstrated that a tenth of the population of Wales (then about a million) had been permanently influenced.[2]

A Calvinistic Methodist minister, David Morgan, had been praying for an outpouring of the Divine Spirit. Hence, in spite of prejudice, he went to hear Humphrey Jones, a young Methodist recently returned from the United States, at the Wesleyan chapel near his village Ysbytty Ystwyth. He was deeply convicted by an address on the words: 'Because thou art neither hot nor cold, I will spue thee out of my mouth.' Thus David Morgan entered into an experience of spiritual deepening a few days later.[3]

The population of Ysbytty Ystwyth did not exceed a thousand, yet two hundred adult converts had been won before the end of 1858.[4] A feature of the movement was 'moliannu' or praising, a peculiar form of worship best described as a chorus of rapturous praise from preacher and people. In early 1859, David Morgan began to visit neighbouring village churches. In Pontrhydfendigaid, more than half the population of eight hundred united themselves to the Calvinistic Methodists. An unordained Pontrhydfendigaid lad carried the fervour to Tregaron, where the congregation burst into praising, and eighty-seven people were converted. By midsummer, the whole county of Cardigan was pervaded by the most fervid religious feeling.[5]

[1] J. J. Morgan, 1909, pp. vi, 462.
[2] Ibid., p. 3. [3] Ibid., p. 9. [4] Ibid., p. 13.
[5] The Nonconformist, 21 September 1859.

Following the week of prayer in January 186 , a second great wave of Revival swept Wales, with greater strength in some places, and with the same happy interdenominational unity and evangelistic outreach.[1]

The pattern of the Awakening in England was noteworthy, for it included full-scale Revival of the instantaneous or immediate type experienced in Ulster, Wales and Scotland; other movements following a metropolitan London pattern; and movements delayed in action which took several years before the awakening produced the right climate and ready harvesters for general evangelism.[2]

By October 1859,[3] there was reported a more or less general awakening going on in Newcastle-on-Tyne, the Anglican clergy and Nonconformist ministers conducting special services, in one of which (a Methodist church) an owner of local saloons and investor in the brewery business created a sensation by renouncing all connection with the liquor trade. During the same month, the Rev. Robert Young announced that the Awakening in Newcastle had accounted for 1400 conversions in the Brunswick Chapel special services alone.[4] In Newcastle, five years later, the work of God was reported 'going on gloriously' among local working men, and all the churches were thriving.[5]

Dr. and Mrs. Walter Palmer (Wesleyan evangelists from the United States) were the means of carrying the revival interest not only to Newcastle, but with far-reaching consequences to Gateshead across the Tyne in Durham.[6]

A Gateshead Methodist chapel experienced an awakening of power in 1859 under its minister, William Booth. Four years later, a circuit chapel claimed that of the forty-nine professed converts of 1859,[7] thirty had joined the society, eleven of whom were still in fellowship, another fourteen

[1] The Revival, 25 February 1860.
[2] J. Edwin Orr, 1949, p. 147.
[3] The Record, 21 September 1859.
[4] The Watchman, 4 January 1860.
[5] The Revival, 28 July 1864,—21 December 1865.
[6] Wesleyan Times, 11 May 1863.
[7] The Revival, 26 March 1863.

were in fellowship elsewhere, and three had been restored from backsliding—or two missing from a total of thirty, an encouraging experience.

In a second phase of the Awakening, in 1861, two hundred converts were reported, making the total in the three years 300 new members added to the New Connexion circuit.[1] So many sinners were brought to repentance that the Bethesda Chapel earned the name of 'the Converting Shop.'

In these revival times, Mrs. Catherine Booth, in January 1860, announced her firm intention of preaching—to the amazement of her husband and his congregation. The Booths also conducted a preaching mission in Hartlepool, attracting up to one thousand people, turning many away, and winning two hundred and fifty converts. Despite this success, the Methodist New Connexion set a limit upon William Booth's evangelism, which discrimination led to his resignation as a pastor in favour of full-time evangelism.

Thoughout the 1860s, evangelism continued in strength in Liverpool, with meetings averaging a thousand young men producing results in many conversions.[2] Along with outside evangelism, the churches of Liverpool were revived.

In Manchester, the religious revival appeared in fullest strength two years after the initial prayer meetings. The work continued till the end of 1861, and there were strong testimonies to support the claim that this work was neither superficial nor evanescent.[3]

There were two phases of the Evangelical Awakening of 1859 in the middle belt of English counties, the first being the movement to prayer begun in the summer of 1859 and then developed beyond description after the second week of 1860, whereas the second was the evangelistic phase, sometimes following directly after the prayer movement, but more often breaking out in the autumn of 1861 or later.[4] Birmingham and the other great industrial towns were deeply moved, and county towns and country places also reported awakenings.

[1] R. Sandall, volume i, pp. 8-9.
[2] J. Edwin Orr, 1949, p. 157.
[3] Ibid., pp. 159-160.
[4] Ibid., pp. 118ff.

Those twin cultural capitals of England, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, were profoundly stirred by the prayer meeting movement. In the autumn of 1859, there was begun a Universities Prayer Union,[1] and an appeal was made for special prayer for awakening in the Oxford and Cambridge colleges. In the 1860s, there was a genuine and spontaneous awakening among the Oxford and Cambridge students.

East Anglia was mightily affected by the 1860 Awakening. Prayer meetings had begun in 1859, but it was in 1861 that the greatest results were recorded. In Lowestoft, three thousand out of a population of nine thousand attended the meetings, and the Town Hall was filled with inquirers.[2]

Dr. Eugene Stock, secretary of the Church Missionary Society and equally well-known as a Deeper Life speaker in after years, declared in retrospect that the early 'sixties were marked by a religious revival of a kind unlike anything experienced in Britain since (with the exception of the Welsh Revival of 1905), adding that the most striking feature of the revival of the 1860s was the phenomena of prayer meetings,[3] one filling the vast Agricultural Hall in Islington:

> I can never forget January 9, 1860, when, at nine o'-clock on a bitterly cold morning, that hall was densely packed for nothing but simple prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

The second week of January 1860 was devoted by multitudes of believers to special 'united prayer for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit' all over the world. London congregations supported two hundred such united meetings.

Records of the movement in London are full of examples of the effects of prayer upon worship and fellowship and evangelism, all of which revived immeasurably. The revived Christians in London soon found an opportunity to harness the flowing tides of revival to generate sufficient power to carry Light to the darkened masses of the metropolis.[4]

[1] The Nonconformist, 30 November 1859.
[2] The Revival, 2 & 23 March & 11 May 1860.
[3] E. Stock, Recollections, pp. 82-83.
[4] see volume iii, p. 3, in E. Hodder's account of the life and work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury.

The prime mover in the matter was that 'Evangelical of Evangelicals,' the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, who helped to legalize and organize a series of theatre meetings.[1]

No numerical report is available concerning the aggregate of vast but orderly crowds that attended St. Paul's Cathedral for special services[2] led by the Bishop of London 'with his usual zeal'; neither are any estimates given of the totals of those attending very similar services held in Westminster Abbey. On the basis of sitting space and reports of crowded gatherings, an estimate of 100,000 during the winter season would be modest.

City theatres were packed for services Sunday night, and in addition to these organized, committee-controlled activities there were 'numberless free special services in and around London.' On the basis of known figures alone, it can be safely said that fifty thousand of London's unchurched people were reached each Sunday in the theatre services, or one million aggregate each season.[3]

Nowhere in the stirring accounts of the Awakening in the capital was there any evidence of prostration, or hysteria. The work in London seemed to have developed in a manner different from that which preceded it in Ulster, Wales and Scotland. The London Awakening of the early 1860s was one of preaching. These evangelistic campaigns which were held throughout the metropolis in the revival years of the 1860s were far too numerous to be chronicled. Their results were manifold. In the Revival decade (prior to 1865) Protestant churches in London added 200,000 sittings to their total of accommodations, a sixty per cent increase.[4]

Although instances of spontaneous awakening occurred in all parts of Cornwall,[5] the most effective work developed through the visit of William and Catherine Booth. A revival began at Hayle in the middle of August, 1861. No actual conversions were noted on the first Sunday, so the evangelist

[1] E. Hodder, volume iii, p. 3.
[2] The Freeman, 4 January 1860.
[3] cf. J. Edwin Orr, 1949, p. 100.
[4] The Nonconformist, 15 November 1865.
[5] The Revival, 21 April 1861.

used his opportunity on Monday to speak to believers on the 'Hindrances to Christian Joy.' Nearly all the congregation that evening stayed for a prayer meeting, and after a second message,[1] a woman made her way to 'the anxious seat,' to become in the hopes of the evangelist 'the first-fruits of what I trust will be a glorious harvest.' Eighteen months later, the convert in question had been followed by seven thousand others who made decisions under the ministry of William and Catherine Booth.[2] This occurred during the 'wilderness experience' of the founder of the Salvation Army, according to one biographer.[3] Rather, it was an apprenticeship for a far greater life-work.

In Devon, there was 'a great work, with very little excitement' going on in the prayer meetings night after night, with many conversions. All of the West Country shared in the awakening. In the Dorset village of Fordington, a local awakening occurred of which the saintly Bishop of Durham, Handley Moule, spoke with enthusiasm until the day of his death.[4] Evan Hopkins, a founder of the Keswick Convention, was converted nearby in a similar rural revival.

Scandinavia was powerfully moved by the great American Awakening of 1858. Carl Olof Rosenius was the outstanding leader of evangelical forces.[5] The greatest of the Swedish awakenings occurred in 1876-77: it was a culmination of the forces at work to evangelize Sweden. Paul Peter Waldenström had succeeded Rosenius, but, following a theological dispute, the Evangelical Mission Covenant was formed, retaining its membership in the Church of Sweden.[6] Those who did not follow Waldenström continued their support of the Evangelical National Foundation, or Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen, begun in 1856 and equally evangelistic.

1 Ibid., 31 August 1861.
2 see F. Booth-Tucker, on the life of Catherine Booth.
3 H. Begbie, in his biography of William Booth.
4 see H. C. G. Moule, Memorials, pp. 48ff.
5 K. A. Olsson, pp. 47ff.
6 Ibid., p. 98, and for a contemporay account of both Norway and Sweden, see M. W. Montgomery, p. 58.

The Evangelical Mission Covenant in the United States was formed by the union of two revivalistic Lutheran synods in 1885.[1] It was entirely a free church, of evangelistic low-church traditions, as also was the Augustana Synod which served the Lutherans from Sweden without the full approval of the Swedish State Church authorities.

In a fresh wave of revival in Norway,[2] Professor Gisle Johnsen provided leadership. Denmark too experienced great awakenings in the 1860s when the nation was sore beset in its political life.[3]

Fredrik Franson,[4] Swedish-born emigrant, was converted in Nebraska and in 1875 came to Chicago to study the various methods of D. L. Moody there. He became a member of the Moody Church, and went forth as an evangelist independently, but with its blessing and commendation, to minister among the many Scandinavian immigrants in the Middle West.

In 1881, Fredrik Franson crossed to Sweden, where he began to exercise a fruitful ministry in the chapels of the evangelistic sections of the Church. He extended his ministry to Norway with striking success. In both countries, the clergy of the State Churches offered opposition to his ministry, an opposition repeated in Denmark in a greater degree. Yet in Copenhagen, in the New Year of 1884, Franson became the prophet of a great revival in the city. In 1885, Franson was arrested on false charges, imprisoned until some influential Norwegians at court interceded with Danish royalty, and then finally banished from Denmark.

Contacts with British and American leaders served to give German Evangelical Christianity a new lease of life after the 1858-59 Awakening.[5] Theodor Christlieb, who had served in a Lutheran Church in London during the Awakening, later returned to serve as professor of theology at Bonn, fully supporting the evangelistic cause in all the German States.

1 K. A. Olsson, pp. 179ff.
2 On church life in Norway, see E. Molland.
3 J. O. Andersen, pp. 60ff.
4 For a biography of Fredrik Franson, see O. Grauer, 1940; or in popular style, D. B. Woodward, 1966.
5 P. Scharpff, pp. 249ff.

About the same time, Robert Pearsall Smith (an erratic Bible expositor) kindled interest in Scriptural holiness and active evangelism throughout Germany. A more permanent ministry was exercised by Elijah Schrenk, who as a German missionary from Africa had attended Moody's meetings in London and wrote home: 'I want to become an evangelist.' Shortly thereafter a German-American Y.M.C.A. secretary, Frederick von Schlümbach, held evangelistic campaigns in Berlin and Hamburg, resulting in a revival and the foundation of the first German Young Men's Christian Association.

These, and many other movements, were soon brought together by Professor Christlieb, who founded the German Committee for Evangelism, and a seminary to train German evangelists. He began at Gnadau in 1888 a series of annual conventions for both pastors and evangelists. Thus the forces of the Awakening in Germany developed an evangelistic drive and the movement went on for thirty years.[1]

From this interaction resulted the German Association for Evangelism and Christian Fellowship which sent able evangelists throughout the German lands, the most remarkable of whom were Samuel Keller and Elijah Schrenk, who had drawn inspiration from Moody.

Historians claim that this movement developed into thirty years of revival in Germany, between 1880 and 1910, being especially effective in the Established Church, and that there were several hundred thousand people converted. The origin of this great German Awakening was mainly Anglo-American, but the movement soon became thoroughly Germanic both in its personnel and preaching.

[1] P. Scharpff, pp. 249ff.

Chapter XI

Revival in South Africa

In Graaff-Reinet, Ds. Andrew Murray, senior, had prayed for many years for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the churches of his adopted country. The younger Murrays never forgot that their father's study door was closed on Friday evenings as the faithful intercessor spent long hours in a time of fervent prayer for revival.[1]

In Grahamstown, the veteran William Shaw also prayed for a repetition of the times of revival that he had witnessed a score of years earlier in the land of his adoption.[2] Then, the Revival of 1837 had followed the disaster of war. Now another disaster had blighted the frontier.

A year earlier, in May 1856, a mere child entering upon her teens became a Bantu prophetess. Spirits of dead heroes appeared to Nongquase and charged her to challenge the clans of the Amaxhosa to kill all their cattle, destroy all their grain and consume all the food in the country. Then, on the 18th of February of that year, the elderly would be rejuvenated, cattle would spring out of the earth, corn-pits would be most miraculously filled, and the dead heroes would arise to lead their warriors in driving the Europeans into the sea.[3] Chiefs abetted the delusion, hoping that starvation would provoke an irruption into Cape Colony, it was said.

Like the millennial prediction of 1844, it came to nothing. The deluded people slaughtered their cattle and burned their corn. The chiefs neglected to gather their warriors close to the border. Soon starvation made mobilization impossible. The horrors that followed were unspeakable. Hungry hordes wandered to and fro, then sat down and died. For years to come, skeletons of a dozen or a score of victims were found huddled around a solitary tree, where they had died in the

[1] J. du Plessis, 1919, p. 27.
[2] Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, year ending April 1868, p. 40.
[3] G.M. Theal, 1964 edition, volume vii, pp. 205ff. (original editions, 1888-1919).

shade. The old and infirm were the first abandoned. Families fought among themselves for scraps of food and cannibalism, a rare vice among the southern Bantu, broke out. Clans numbering tens of thousands were decimated. The Colony was invaded, but by pitifully weakened beggars.

In 1857, revival had begun in North America. An awakening started simultaneously among the Europeans in Grahamstown, affecting both Bantu and European churches. Commemoration Chapel (seating 1400) was filled Sundays and weekdays for services of worship and prayer.[1] The Bantu congregations received many probationers into membership. Circuit after circuit reported an increase, Healdtown's chapel seating 600 being crowded to excess, three hundred taking Communion and threescore being baptized. It was reported:

> This circuit has participated in the general blessing which Almighty God has been pleased to pour down upon His Church and people both in this and in other lands.[2]

Telegraphic communication existed between United States and Great Britain in 1857, but none with the South African frontier, therefore no link in space could account for the coincidence in time with the American 1857 Awakening.

But the 1858 Revival on the frontier brought numerous gatherings of Bantu under the sound of the Gospel, a very significant factor in the unusual awakenings that followed seven years' teaching.[3] Chief Kama, an earlier convert, had stayed true to his faith during the terrible delusion, and he remained surrounded by his tribe. In the Grahamstown and Kingwilliamstown and Queenstown circuits, and in the sadly desolated Transkei, the Bantu flocked to the missions, and Morley (for example) showed an increase of 600 members, 600 on trial, with overcrowded congregations listening to the Word.[4]

[1] Minutes of Methodist District Meetings, 1854-58, Albany and Kaffraria, Cory Library.
[2] Report of John Ayliff, November 1857 & 1858.
[3] Minutes of Methodist District Meetings, 1854-58, Albany and Kaffraria, Cory Library.
[4] cf. Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, year ending April 1868, p. 40.

A more direct link between the United States and South Africa was forged by the returning of the American Board missionaries from furlough in New England to their work among the Zulus in Natal, even before news of the Ulster 1859 Revival had reached the Cape.

The work of evangelizing the Zulus in Natal had been one of discouragement and even despair to both the American Congregational and Church of England missionaries attempting it. The British Methodists likewise found it difficult. One such pioneer recalled his dismay upon arrival at Port Natal in 1849:

> . . . the work of Christianizing semi-nude savages who brandished spears, shields and knobkerries before us seemed a hopeless task.[1]

Tyler and his companions had found it very painful year after year to witness the gross ignorance and deep-rooted superstitions, spirit-worship and impure practices of the heathen.[2] So also did the American missionaries.

Already[3] Aldin Grout had told his American supporters that in faroff South Africa there was a longing in Christian hearts for a spiritual awakening, so that prayer for revival in South Africa had begun in the States before South African believers in any numbers had been quickened to pray.

The first manifestations of a Divine visitation in South Africa were not at Worcester in the Cape or Montagu nearby in 1860, but in Natal where at the close of 1858 there were encouraging signs of an awakening, with marked religious interest at nearly all the Zulu stations run by the American missionaries.[4] Aldin Grout reported in 1859 'now we are revived; and the reviving commenced a year and a half ago.' After ten years of patient waiting and longing, the British Methodist mission stations likewise[5]

[1] Josiah Tyler, forty years after landing in Natal on 17th July 1849, Christian Express, November 1889.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Report of the American Board, Boston, 1859, p. 45.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Letter of Joseph Gaskin, Verulam, 9 May 1860, in Methodist Missionary Society Archives, London.

. . . witnessed a shaking among the dry bones in the Esidumbini Valley. . . It was a joyful day when five young men came to me and said, 'We have decided to abandon heathenism and serve God.' It was a still more joyful day on which we established a church and sat down for the first time with a little band of native Christians.

The population of Natal at that time was about 170,000,[1] of whom a tenth were of European stock, either English-speaking or Afrikaans-speaking, while less than a twentieth were indentured labourers using Tamil, Telugu or other Indian vernaculars—few of the Indians being Christians.

A vivid insight into the Zulu Awakening of 1859 was given in a letter written by the Rev. Joseph Jackson, a Wesleyan Methodist missionary. Observing that, from Sunday May 22 onwards, many who had been especially prayed for had been converted, he said that on that Sunday:

> I rose early this morning to preach to the people, but soon found by their sleepy countenances that they had had but little rest during the night. After the service I was informed that just as they had been about to separate while singing the concluding hymn, the Spirit fell upon them in such an overpowering manner that they could not depart, but continued in prayer till break of day.[2]

A man who came from Pietermaritzburg to witness these strange things was siezed with conviction, but later 'set at liberty.' The news of the awakening spread far and wide, for most people considered the possibility of such a work of grace at Indaleni as too far fetched to believe.

Throughout 1859, these Zulu awakenings were continuing in power, with prayer meetings and evangelism much in evidence.[3] Far to the west, an awakening began in Botswana, among people of very different background and language.[4]

[1] Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, p. 39.
[2] Report of Joseph Jackson, in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, London, January 1860.
[3] Report of the American Board, 1861, p. 30.
[4] Archives, Cory Library, contain MS lists of 'newly awakened,' 29th June 1859, in Botswana District.

In 1860, at the time when European churches at the Cape had begun to feel a movement of the Spirit, it was reported in Boston of the Zulu Mission that

> Christians at some of the stations became so much revived that they were unwilling that the meetings should cease . . . the daily prayer meetings were continued morning and afternoon through succeeding weeks.[1]

Missionaries noted cases of deep seriousness, reporting outright conversions apparently occurring at most stations. Throughout 1861, a 'very hopeful degree of religious interest' continued in Natal among the Zulu Christians.[2] An increase of benevolence reported in 1862 indicated a real missionary concern for others.[3]

Seven years after the original outbreak of revival, 'very considerable prosperity'[4] in things spiritual was enjoyed. The statistics of growth indicated more than doubling of the Zulu church membership.[5] And all this growth took place before the second wave of evangelical revival reached the Zulus in Natal through Charles Pamla, Amaxhosa interpreter of Taylor, the world-ranging American Methodist preacher, when the ingathering of converts surpassed the first wave.

Nothing in the records indicated that starting phenomena which marked the awakenings in Ulster and the Cape had been witnessed. The Zulu Awakening was directly related to the 1858 Revival in the United States, one free of psychological accidents, but marked by extraordinary praying, conviction of sin, immediate conversions and extended evangelism.

The 1859 Awakening among the Zulus was considered a promising movement by the missionaries,[6] the Americans declaring that 'a Christian people have sprung up among the Zulus . . . a missionary people.'

At the Mission annual meeting at Umtwalumi in early 1860, prayer was offered for a general outpouring of the Spirit among Christians throughout Africa.[7]

[1] Report of the American Board, 1861, p. 30.
[2] Ibid., 1862, p. 62.
[3] Ibid., 1863, p. 48.
[4] Ibid., 1867, pp. 53ff.
[5] Ibid., 1868, pp. 9ff.
[6] Missionary Herald, Boston, 1860, p. 4.
[7] Ibid., p. 357.

Postal communications were so difficult that the Natal missionaries did not know that the answer to their prayers had already come to Christians at the Cape far to the south-west, in both Afrikaans and English-speaking churches of the Europeans, provoking a missionary out-thrust.

In Cape Town, the organ of the Dutch Reformed Church, De Kerkbode, carried regular news of the 1858 Awakening in the United States of America,[1] news relayed by returning Americans or by an occasional visitor or news received by dispatch. Persistently, the details of that great awakening were carried into the homes of Christians far and wide in South Africa.

In August 1859, three ministers issued a call to servants of God in every sphere of labour to pray for an awakening throughout South Africa.[2] In August also, De Kerkbode carried a full report of the Ulster Revival—'eene groote godsdienstige opwekking in het Noorden van Ierland'—describing the revival in Ballymena, Belfast, Coleraine and Londonderry.

A further report on Irish Revivals was given, accompanied by a letter addressed to all South African Christians, calling them to prayer for a visitation of God's Spirit in the country. It was signed by A. Fourie, G. Morgan, P. E. Faure, G.W.A. van der Lingen, R. Shand, C. Fraser, A. Murray, Senior, J. Pears, G.W.Stegmann, W.R.Thomson, Alexander Smith, W. F. Heugh, W. Robertson and P. K. Albertyn.[3]

An item, De Kracht van het Vereenigd Gebed, appeared in the same organ of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk on 30th July 1859.[4] Later, a little book of eighty-five pages was published, entitled The Power of Prayer.[5]

In 1860, De Kerkbode continued to feature the Irish Revival, noting its spread throughout Great Britain. English-speaking Christians also were kept informed of its progress.[6]

[1] see De Kerkbode, 1859-60, indexed references.
[2] Ibid., 27 August 1859, p. 294.
[3] Ibid., 6 October 1859, pp. 327 & 334.
[4] Ibid., 30 July 1859.
[5] see S. I. Prime, 1858.
[6] South African Watchman, 1858, pp. 254-256, 324; 1859, 308-316; 1860, 353-360, etc.

In response to the invitation to prayer sent out by Ludhiana missionaries, union prayer meetings were held in several churches in Cape Town every evening during the second week in January. Numerously attended, they produced no unusual results among church-goers:

> . . . though profitable to many of God's people, they were not distinguished by any remarkable outpouring of the Holy Ghost . . . The appointed week ended, we all too readily sank down into our former state of comparative indifference.[1]

In 1860,[2] church attendances in the Cape Town Methodist churches increased by five per cent over 1859, and this increase was maintained in 1861. It could not be said, however, that there had been any significant awakening among either English or Dutch-speaking churches of the capital city.

The South African Evangelical Alliance instituted monthly prayer meetings in Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed and other places of worship,[3] but the attendance was small and 'the exercises too formal and dull.'

Up country, the burden of prayer rapidly increased, more especially among the Dutch Reformed congregations and their ministers. Cautious ministers had been sceptical about the movement in the United States, but a number of careful men, including Faure, Hofmeyr, and Murray of Stellenbosch, and Neethling and Van der Lingen stood up to declare that they were convinced that it was a veritable work of God.[4]

For instance, Ds. Abraham Faure was first of all sceptical, but became convinced in mind and heart. By the time that he was ready to urge his congregation to prepare, he was able to pass on details of the Ulster Revival of 1859.[5]

[1] Letter of James Cameron, 20 June 1860, Methodist Missionary Society Archives, London, the Cape of Good Hope Files, 1858-1860.
[2] Minutes, Methodist Conference, Cape Town, 1866.
[3] Letter of James Cameron, Methodist Archives.
[4] cf. M. W. Retief, chapter iii, pp. 13ff: 'Voorbereiding vir die 1860-Herlewing,' 'Preparation for the 1860 Revival.'
[5] De Kerkbode, 27 August 1859, p. 294.

In far-off Calvinia, Nicholas Hofmeyr studied the promises of Scripture concerning Revival, but was discouraged by the apathy and indifference of his congregation. He was encouraged to find a like-minded prayer companion, young Van der Rijst, who spent each passing Saturday night in prayer with him, and continued to pray alone after Ds. Hofmeyr long had removed to the Stellenbosch Seminary.[1]

Ds. Neethling of Stellenbosch spoke to his own elders about the matter, and addressed the congregation, using the book on the power of prayer. This prepared the Stellenbosch kerk.[2]

Van der Lingen of Paarl was at first sceptical regarding the phenomenon of revival. But he was willing to study the matter in Scripture, and soon became convinced not only of the reality of revival but of the certainty of its coming to South Africa. He addressed his church council on the subject and encouraged his flock to pray.[3]

In Worcester, up country from Cape Town, there were other faithful intercessors with God for an awakening, including one who oft repaired to a nearby hilltop to pray for the town spread out before him.[4]

In February 1860, De Kerkbode announced a conference at Worcester, summoned by Profs. John Murray and Nicholas Hofmeyr and by Ds. Neethling of Stellenbosch, to be held on April 18 and 19, for ministers of all denominations and all others interested, to discuss matters of missions, education and the like, and last, but not least, Revival—the burden of the sponsors.

[1] Gedenkboek van die Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente, Calvinia, A. P. Smit, and address by Prof. N. Hofmeyr on 26 October 1860 to the South African Evangelical Alliance, in De Kerkbode, 1860, pp. 392ff.
[2] M. W. Retief, loc. cit.
[3] (Van der Lingen) Godsdiensverslag, De Paarl, 1860, Archives of the N.G.K., at Cape Town, file R. 1:9, p. 225, cf. M. de Villiers' biography of G. W. A. van der Lingen, p. 182.
[4] (Andrew Murray) Godsdiensverslag, Worcester, 1860, Archives of the Dutch Reformed Church, in Cape Town, file R. 4:4, p. 234.

Three hundred and seventy-four attended the conference,[1] coming from as far away as Fauresmith and Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State.[2] Twenty congregations were represented, including sixteen Dutch Reformed ministers and other Methodist and Presbyterian ministers and missionaries. Ds. Shand was chairman.

The topic of Revival was introduced by the Swellendam minister, Dr. Robertson. Adamson, the Scots Presbyterian minister at Cape Town, recounted the story of the American Revival of 1858, from its beginnings in a Dutch Reformed congregation in New York until the most recent word of its continuing progress throughout 1859, vividly illustrating from his experiences therein. He spoke first in English, then in Dutch, and was able to answer questions. His hearers were very deeply moved.[3]

Andrew Murray, senior, attempted to speak during the discussion following, but was reduced to weeping.[4] There was a profound humbling of the ministers attending the conference, and each of them returned to his work full of great expectation. It is significant that the congregations first moved in the subsequent Awakening were those that had sent delegates or observers to the conference.

Andrew Murray, junior,[5] took part in the Worcester conference by leading in prayer, a prayer so powerful that some considered its utterance the beginning of the Revival of 1860.[6] His preaching ministry was also powerful in his new charge at Worcester, where he was installed in May of that year, and great expectations were kindled in the hearts of all his hearers.[7] Like Frelinghuysen of the Raritan Valley in New Jersey (the Dutch Reformed dominie with whom the eighteenth century Revival began in the English-speaking world)

[1] De Kerkbode, 1860, pp. 47, 92-94.
[2] Ibid., 1860, pp. 141-144.
[3] J. du Plessis, 1919, p. 187; cf. De Kerkbode, 1860, pp. 92-94, 141-144.
[4] cf. De Kerkbode, 1860, p. 141.
[5] Ibid., 1860, p. 142.
[6] J. du Plessis, 1919, p. 199.
[7] De Kerkbode, 1860, p. 174.

Andrew Murray used a kind of 'eucharistic evangelism,' preaching at Nagmaal on such texts as 'Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having a wedding garment?' causing much searching of heart among careless communicants.

Andrew Murray was a severe minister of the word of rebuke, both in preaching and in personal counsel. At the close of a prayermeeting, he was known to deal with each individual present. Yet he himself proved to be unprepared for the Revival when it broke out in his own congregation.[1]

The deputation from Montagu attending the conference at Worcester returned and instituted prayer meetings in their dorp. A local Wesleyan missionary reported[2]

> O, Sir, what can I write! The Lord is doing wonders here. The Spirit is amongst us . . . prayer meetings every day and every night in the week. People who never prayed publicly before are opening their mouth widely.
>
> Last Sunday evening, I spoke from 'Behold, he prayeth.' I asked the people to come up to the school room on Monday, Wednesday and Friday mornings early, to pray the Lord for a spiritual blessing. They came in large numbers very early, three o'clock, as they go to work at sunrise.
>
> On Thursday evening, at our prayer meeting, I felt downcast when we commenced, but soon had cause for rejoicing. A poor girl began for the first time to pray. What language! It was her mouth, but the words were of the Spirit. I cried out, 'Pray, my child. Pray to the Lord. He is here!' and, glory to His name, it was so! Young and old commenced crying for mercy, and I was kept till about twelve o'clock. The congregation of the Dutch Reformed Church came out of their prayermeeting ——the place was crowded, while a great number had to remain outside.

[1] The Rev. W. M. Douglas, biographer of Andrew Murray, told the writer in 1936 that intimates of the veteran predikant used to tease him about his having tried to quench the Revival; see following.

[2] Report to the Rev. James Cameron, 6 August 1860, Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, November 1860.

The meetings thus begun in the Montagu Dutch Reformed Church[1] following the Worcester conference were led by a layman who continued to direct the movement until it became general.[2] It is significant that the first outbreak of Revival among the Dutch Reformed occurred where the pastorie was temporarily vacant.[3]

In July, two ministers visited Montagu for Nagmaal, and conducted a prayer meeting that Sunday evening. A year before, prayer meetings were unknown in that district, yet in the first full tide of revival, the people complained that the meetings ended too soon.[4]

For many weeks, the awakening at Montagu was marked by intense conviction of sin, strong men crying out in anguish as in Ireland and Scotland. Montagu underwent a complete transformation, a community noted for its indifference becoming one committed to serious religion,

The new minister, who was not installed in the Montagu congregation until September 1860, found a revived constituency, with no less than six prayer meetings going on in the tiny dorp.[5]

Montagu is within easy reach of Worcester, along a valley, and lay people in the latter dorp began to engage in fervent intercession for revival. So, within the limits of the parish, cottage prayer meetings were commenced and continued till Pentecost. In the Breede River ward, a prayer meeting was started with only a handful of people but began to increase in size. Whole families, European and Coloured, attended and a spirit of conviction of sin humbled them as preliminary evidences of revival. The preaching of the local dominie helped forward the phase of heart-searching. But it was in the youth fellowship that the awakening really began.

[1] (S. Hofmeyr) Godsdiensverslag, Montagu, 1860, Archives of the Dutch Reformed Church, in Cape Town, file R.2: 6, pp. 290ff.

[2] cf. De Kerkbode, 1860, p. 32.

[3] Prof. N. Hofmeyr, in Address to the South African Evangelical Alliance, 26 October 1860.

[4] (S. Hofmeyr), cf. De Kerkbode, 1860, pp. 253-254.

[5] De Kerkbode, 1860, p. 300, cf. S. Hofmeyr.

One Sunday evening, threescore young people were gathered in a hall built by Dirk de Vos for youth purposes, engaging in intercession led by Jan Christiaan de Vries,[1] a lay helper of Andrew Murray. Several had risen to announce the singing of a hymn and to offer prayer, when a Coloured girl in the employ of a farmer asked if she might do the same.[2] After momentary hesitation, permission was granted, and the girl poured out her heart in a moving prayer.

De Vries reported that while she was praying, a roaring noise in the distance was heard, like a mighty rushing wind, coming closer and closer until it enveloped and shook the hall.[3] The whole company burst into prayer, the majority audibly and a minority in murmuring tones. A significant manifestation of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit was being demonstrated. Long afterward, Ds. J. C. de Vries recalled his experience:

> A feeling that I cannot describe took possession of me. Even now, forty-three years after these occurrences, the events of that never-to-be-forgotten night pass before my mind's eye like a soul-stirring panorama. I feel again, as then I felt, I cannot refrain from pushing my chair backwards and thanking the Lord fervently for His mighty deeds.

[1] Jan Christiaan de Vries, born 1841, ordained 1873, retired 1894, died 1906, was a cousin of General Jan Christiaan Smuts (son of Catharina de Vries).
[2] J. du Plessis, 1919, pp. 194ff.
[3] Acts ii, 2 (according to Dr. A. T. Robertson, vol. iii, p. 20) has used a Greek expression, not for a wind, but the roar as of a tornado. That this was a simile rather than a symbol is suggested by the many cases where reliable witnesses claimed to hear such a phenomenon, e.g. in Andhra in 1906, Dr. David Downie (Archives of the American Baptist Foreign Mission), or in Malawi in 1910 among the Tembuka, Dr. Donald Fraser (pp. 279ff). So also simultaneous audible prayer is suggested by Acts iv, 24, 'with one accord' being translated 'a concert of voices' by the same Koine Greek authority.

Meanwhile, the Worcester congregation had engaged in its regular Sunday evening worship. Jan Rabie, an elder who had just attended the church where Andrew Murray preached that evening, heard the swelling volume of audible prayer in the little hall, and hastened to inform the predikant of what was going on in the youth meeting led by young de Vries. So Andrew Murray hurried over to the hall and entered to find the whole company still engaged in simultaneous prayer, with de Vries kneeling at a table instead of directing.[1]

Andrew Murray touched his helper on the shoulder and signalled him to rise to his feet, then asked for an explanation of the extraordinary behaviour of the young people. De Vries explained, if explanation it could be called. Andrew Murray was far from satisfied, and walked among the distressed people calling for silence, 'Mense, bly still!'

No one took the slightest notice of their new, revered minister, and even de Vries kneeled again at the table in holy awe of the Divine visitation. In a loud voice, Andrew Murray called again: 'I am your minister, sent from God. Silence!' Again, no one responded and the prayer continued.[2] Each was more concerned with calling upon God for forgiveness of an intolerable backlog of sin and shame.

Andrew Murray went back to De Vries[3] and asked him to join him in singing the hymn in Dutch, 'Help the soul that helpless cries!' but the simultaneous intercession went on. So the bewildered Andrew Murray departed, exclaiming 'God is a God of order, and here everything is in confusion!' It was some time before Andrew Murray was convinced of the Divine nature of the visitation.[4] De Vries, who had experienced the phenomena from the beginning, was not only convinced but overwhelmed.

[1] J. du Plessis, 1919, loc. cit.
[2] Andrew Murray, Godsdiensverslag, Worcester, 1860, Archives of the Dutch Reformed Church, Cape Town, file R.4: 4, p. 234.
[3] Memoirs of Ds. J. C. de Vries, (J. du Plessis).
[4] Andrew Murray, Godsdiensverslag, Worcester, 1860, Archives of the Dutch Reformed Church. cf. biography by J. du Plessis.

Prayer meetings were held in the little hall, evening by evening; each meeting generally began in a period of profound silence, but as soon as several prayers had been offered, the place was shaken as before and the whole company engaged in simultaneous petition of the throne of Grace. The meetings often went on until three in the morning, and even then the people were reluctant to disperse and sang their hymns of praise on their way home through the town.

Crowded attendance moved the meetings to the larger school building, which soon filled up. On the first Saturday evening in the school, Andrew Murray took the lead by reading a passage of Scripture and giving his pastoral comments. Then he engaged in prayer and invited others so to do. Again the uncanny stillness, followed by the mysterious roar of a mighty wind heard in the distance, coming nearer and nearer until it enveloped the building—and all were engaged in the same kind of prayer again.[1] Andrew Murray tried to quieten the people, walking up and down among them, but a stranger tiptoed to him and whispered: 'I think that you are minister of this congregation. Be careful what you do, for it is the Spirit of God that is at work here.' He intimated that he had recently arrived from America.[2]

There is nothing quite like contemporary and unedited writing to convey impressions of actual happenings. Mrs. Andrew Murray wrote to her mother at the time of the 1860 Worcester Awakening:

[1] J. du Plessis, 1919, loc. cit.

[2] (Andrew Murray) Godsdiensverslag, Worcester, 1860. It was said that the American visitor referred to having heard such simultaneous, audible prayer in the United States, presumably in meetings during the 1857-58 movement, but this historian must comment that he found no record whatsoever in the accounts of the 1857-58 Awakening of such simultaneous and audible praying en masse, although phenomenal praying was reported in Ulster and Wales during 1859. And similar manifestations were reported around the world during the 1905 Awakenings.

> . . . We are having many visitors from the surrounding places who come to see us on account of the revival meetings, and they go away blessed, saying that the half has never been told. It is a solemn thing to live in such a congregation at such a time. I feel sure that the Lord is going to bless us even more, and yet there are heavy trials before us; the work is deeply interesting and yet some things are painful.
>
> In the midst of an earnest address, a man drove a dog into the church with a tin tied onto its tail and it frightened the people. Andrew came down the aisle and prayed a most solemn, heart-searching prayer, that if the work were not of God, He Himself would put a stop to it. The people were terrified as the excitement was intense and some even fainted.
>
> Last night again the church was full and Andrew then preached so powerfully and yet so simply on 'the Lamb of God.' He is so very discreet in dealing with souls; about twenty came forward and others stayed behind to be talked to. We do feel and realise the power and the presence of God so mightily. His Spirit is indeed poured out upon us.[1]

A teacher in a school in the Bushveld was then visiting Worcester, and was advised by de Vries not to attend the prayer meeting because of her delicate health. But Hessie Bosman insisted, saying that she would go even if it caused her death. It was known that she had prayed oft and long for a revival in South Africa. So she attended the meeting in the school, and was pouring out her heart in the third public prayer of the evening when the phenomenal praying overwhelmed her petitions and she fell on the floor unconscious. Her friends carried her to the pastorie where she lay unconscious quite some time. Far from causing her death, the extraordinary experience proved to be a rejuvenation of her health, for she married a pioneer missionary, Alexander McKidd, and served God in life and death on the missionfield.[2]

[1] W.M.Douglas, pp. 88-89.

[2] J. du Plessis, 1919, p. 196. McKidd pioneered the rough and barbarous Northern Transvaal.

The movement of 1860 stirred every part of the community of Worcester, old and young, rich and poor, white and Cape Coloured. Especially were the younger generation blessed, numbers being brought to genuine conversion, and thereafter engaging in soul-winning far and near.[1]

A farmer one morning heard loud mourning, and found a Fingo girl, his wife's servant, in an agony of prayer for the forgiveness of sin. His wife informed him that the girl had asked her the day before whether Christ had died for her as well as for white people. Many Africans on remote farms experienced conversion in similar circumstances.[2]

Revival spread from Montagu and Worcester to Wellington, Tulbagh, Swellendam and Paarl. The movement did not get under way at Wellington until October 1860. There a devout servant of God had prayed for many weeks and had organized hours of prayer. Then came the Awakening: the consistory of Wellington declared in its report to presbytery that there had been more true moral and spiritual advance in the parish in a few weeks than in all its previous history.[3]

Tulbagh's minister, like those of Worcester and Wellington, insisted that no special 'means' were employed to promote the awakening[4]—an important point in the thinking of Dutch Calvinists who distrusted Finney's theories of revival.

The churches of the Swellendam Circuit felt the impact of the sudden awakening.[5] For example, the congregation in Robertson reported an outpouring of the Holy Spirit throughout the parish, prayer meetings springing up everywhere; and in Villiersdorp the work was equally effective.

[1] (Andrew Murray) Godsdiensverslag, Worcester, 1861, file R. 4: 4, p. 339.
[2] Prof. N. Hofmeyr, Address, 26 October 1860.
[3] Godsdiensverslag, Wellington, 1861, Archives of the N. G. K., Cape Town, file R.1:9, p. 356.
[4] Godsdiensverslag, Tulbagh, 1860, file R. 4:4, p. 231, cf. De Kerkbode, 1860, p. 392, and Prof. Hofmeyr.
[5] Acta, Ring van Swellendam, 1860, file R. 2:6, p. 290; and Godsdiensverslag, Robertson, 1861, p. 397; and Godsdiensverslag, Villiersdorp, 1861, p. 365; in the Archives of the Dutch Reformed Church, Cape Town.

The fact that startling awakenings had already occurred in Montagu, Worcester, Wellington and Robertson but not yet in Paarl greatly distressed the evangelical scholar, G. W. A. van der Lingen.[1] To the Cape Town Ring, he reported no signs of revival, but an awakening soon followed, bringing (in Van der Lingen's phrase) something of 'the glory of the Church in the first century.'

Van der Lingen gave a revealing report of the impact of the Awakening on his parish at Paarl:

> The attendance has never been so good as in the year that has just passed. On many occasions, not only were all the seats and benches fully occupied, but people sat in the aisles and on the steps. Often many people were turned away because they could not get a place. In no previous year were there as many people who came to Communion as in this year. . . Family prayers in the past were held as a duty, or formally. Now they are alive with attentive reflection. Most of these people get together in groups of three or four to pray weekly and many more than half attend the prayer meetings . . . Many are willing to contribute to the needs of the congregation with their material possessions.[2]

In 1864, the fifth year of the movement, Van der Lingen surveyed its progress again:[3]

> The prayer meetings are still being held, even though the numbers have decreased. And a number of those who have 'tasted of the powers of the ages' during the Revival are walking worthily. . . One can even sense an obvious measure of renewed power. All the groups of three have agreed to assemble also once a month. Numbers at these monthly gatherings are fairly large. Our church cannot accommodate all who come to worship.

[1] (Van der Lingen) Godsdiensverslag, Paarl, 1860, Archives, N. G. K., file R.1: 9, p. 225.
[2] (Van der Lingen) Godsdiensverslag, Paarl, 1861, Archives, N. G. K., file R.1: 9, p. 344.
[3] Ibid., 1864, cf. Die Kwartmillenium-Gedenkboek van die Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente van Paarl, pp. 135ff, 'De Opwekking, 1860.'

Most of the congregations visited by the 1860 Revival were those of the Cape hinterland which had sent representatives to Worcester. But the church at Calvinia, two hundred miles north, had sent no deputation to the Conference.[1] However, their former minister, Ds. N. J. Hofmeyr, had encouraged the people to hold prayer meetings on their remote farms because isolation allowed members to attend church only quarterly. But everything seemed futile, reported Hofmeyr (a professor now). Yet the awakening broke out in Calvinia, transforming the whole population. In a few days time, three or four prayer meetings were begun in the dorp, and four or five in the lonely countryside. A missionary concern for the half-castes and Hottentots developed, and a European farmer gave up his home in order to live and teach on their location.

The Beaufort West gemeente noted similar impact of the revival in village and farms and far around.[2] The work had commenced between 6th and 13th January 1861, many being instantaneously moved.[3] A prayer meeting often lasting all day was held four times a week in the dorp, and meetings were held 'everywhere' on the Lord's day. A 'shaking awake' occurred in Murraysburg district,[4] followed by hundreds of startling conversions, the minister averring that there were not fifty unconverted left in the district. Prince Albert also was moved in the year 1861,[5] and likewise both Richmond and Graaff-Reinet,[6] where C. F. J. Muller (grandfather of the[7] distinguished historian of the same name) left a lucrative law practice for the ministry and became Professor of Theology.

In not only remote towns, but remote farms far from all communications, the Awakening was felt—as far away as Kroonstad in the Orange Free State, Hartebeesfontein in the Transvaal, and Ladysmith in Natal. It was country-wide.[8]

[1] Prof. N. Hofmeyr, Address on 26 October 1860.
[2] Gedenkboek van die Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente, Beaufort-Wes, 1820-1945, p. 36 (A.P.Smit)
[3] De Kerkbode, 1861, p. 108. [4] Ibid., 1861, p. 128.
[5] Godsdiensverslag, Prins Albert, 1861, R.6:2, p. 89.
[6] De Kerkbode, 1861, pp. 206 & 123.
[7] De Zuid-Afrikaan Verenigd, 17 August 1915.
[8] De Kerkbode, 1861-62, indexed notes.

The Dutch Reformed Church Synod of 1862 investigated the Awakening and its fruits.[1] After detailed discussion in which several told of the happenings in their congregations, all in one accord proposed a grateful recognition that the Awakening was surely the work of the Holy Spirit, and that the Synod should offer thanks for the reviving and pray for the continuance of the same; and it was further resolved that the happenings be made known through pastoral reports.

The extraordinary impact of the Awakenings of 1860 onwards created a perennial expectancy of revival in the Dutch Reformed congregations. In Heidelberg, Cape Colony, for example, a great rejoicing greeted the works of God in the 1860 Revival. Livelier interest in the Lord's service sustained not only prayer meetings but a home visitation and sick visitation ministry, until in 1868 there came a second revival, followed by a third in the next decade, a fourth in 1884, and a fifth in 1889 under Dr. Andrew Murray.[2]

This pattern of repeated revivals appeared in congregation after congregation for half a century, a typical example being the Groote Kerk in Cape Town, the Mother Church itself.[3]

Prof. N. J. Hofmeyr of Stellenbosch Theological Seminary had declared in his report to the South African Evangelical Alliance that the changes wrought by the Awakening were little short of revolutionary.[4]

Fifty young men in the Worcester congregation alone offered themselves for the ministry. Stellenbosch Theological Seminary, begun in 1859 with the godly John Murray and Nicholas Hofmeyr, was set on its course with a body of truly devoted students. Evangelism flourished. The movement made a lasting imprint upon the life of Andrew Murray, who not only wrote a book for new converts but commenced his wholesome worldwide ministry.

[1] see A.C. Barnard, 1954 (on Pentecost Day)
[2] Eeufees Gedenkboek van die Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk, Heidelberg, Kaapland, 1855-1955, (A. C. Barnard) pp. 49-50, 54-55, 60ff.
[3] see the history of the Groote Kerk in Cape Town, by H. C. Hopkins, 1963.
[4] J. du Plessis, 1919, p. 196.

An enthusiasm for missions among the non-European folk developed, as auxiliary societies for missionary endeavour were established in many places. Within a decade the Dutch Reformed Church had a dozen mission stations in and beyond the Cape Colony.[1]

Van der Lingen proposed to the Kerkraad that the ten days between Ascension and Pentecost be thereafter devoted to prayer for revival and to evangelistic preaching. This proposal had far-reaching consequences, and set an evangelistic pattern for the Afrikaans-speaking community.[2] It was the Dutch Reformed denomination which benefitted most by the Revival of 1860 and thereafter, but it was not long before the English-speaking churches enjoyed a like visitation.

The 1858 Awakening was extended to all six continents by the remarkable ministry of a very unusual Methodist, the indefatigable and ubiquitous William Taylor, who proved to be one of the most versatile evangelists of all time, a true follower of Wesley who made the world his parish in a way that few in history ever did.[3]

Taylor was born in Virginia in 1821, converted in 1841, and a year later began to work with the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, serving as an itinerant preacher until 1848. In 1849, Taylor followed the Gold Rush to California. Lacking either church or hall, he used a big wooden box as a platform on the wharf at San Francisco, and soon gathered his congregation. Taylor became known up and down California as 'the street preacher.' He returned to the Eastern States and Canada to preach in the aftermath of the 1858 Revival and a few years later heard a call to an intercontinental ministry of unprecedented scope.[4]

[1] M. W. Retief, chapter vii, 'Sending.'
[2] For a survey of the movement, 1861-1961, see the writings of A. C. Barnard, 1961; and for the part of Van der Lingen in it, see the biography in Dutch (Utrecht, 1875) by M. de Villiers.
[3] see autobiography of W. Taylor, pp. 73-75, 218-229
[4] K. S. Latourette's series (on the Great Century) has a dozen references to Taylor in three volumes, an extraordinary tribute to his versatility.

In 1863, Taylor of California (as he was known) reached Australia, and commenced evangelizing in the Methodist churches with considerable impact also on other denominations. Most of 1863 he gave to ministry in Victoria and the island of Tasmania; 1864 to New South Wales and Queensland, with a side trip to New Zealand; and 1865 to South Australia. His evangelism was very fruitful, for more than six thousand converts were received by the circuits.[1] Taylor decided to visit South Africa, and sailed across the Indian Ocean to fulfill his ambition.

At that time, the spiritual life of the Methodist churches was declining. The European circuits had settled down to a life of formality and there were few conversions. The 1860 awakenings in the Dutch Reformed Churches, together with the news of revivals in the United States and United Kingdom, encouraged many Methodists to pray for similar blessing in the Eastern Province and Natal. The answer to prayer came through the visit of William Taylor.[2]

Taylor arrived in Cape Town and began preaching in the Wesleyan chapels there and at Wynberg. He was dismayed by the smallness of the chapels and the even tinier congregations filling a third of their seats. He made his way around the coast to Port Elizabeth and preached there and at both Uitenhage and Grahamstown. His meetings were productive of a number of conversions, but as yet no real break had occurred through his ministry.[3]

After stirring times in America and Australia, Taylor found it hard to appreciate the pessimism of his South African Methodist hosts. He told a circuit superintendent in Port Elizabeth that his proposed meetings would be orderly and would terminate by ten o'clock each night. This remark provoked his host to a burst of laughter, for he averred that the local folk could not tolerate a service lasting longer than 8. Nevertheless, the people tarried and there were from a dozen to a score of seekers each evening.[4]

[1] W. Taylor, autobiography, pp. 255ff.
[2] Report, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 1867, p. 36. [3] see W. Taylor's account of South Africa, pp. 38ff, 62ff. [4] Ibid., pp. 41ff.

The first outbreak of revival fervour came among Amaxhosa people, at a place called Annshaw, just twenty-five miles from Kingwilliamstown. Taylor's interpreter was a young African named Charles Pamla.[1] Six hundred people had crowded the mission chapel, mission natives in quasi-European dress, heathen tribesmen in red blankets. Taylor preached upon the text, 'Ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you.' That evening, he preached to the unconverted on 'Turn ye from your evil ways, for why will ye die?'[2]

Pamla had such genius for interpretation that he sang a new hymn, line by line in Xhosa alternately with Taylor's English words, though he had never heard the hymn before. as Taylor preached, a profound stillness fell on the people, and, when he announced an aftermeeting, two hundred penitents came forward to the front seats, kneeling in contrition.

There were no wild scenes of confusion, but there was simultaneous audible prayer, with sighs and groans and floods of tears. Taylor insisted upon dealing with the inquirers on the spot, and continued with his helpers until midnight. Then Taylor dismissed them, but they were back at sunrise for praise and prayer. Next day, the work continued, Taylor dealing systematically with the inquirers and enrolling them. After his departure, another 165 professed faith, making 300 in all in five days of reaping.[3]

At Healdtown, a thousand natives crowded the Wesleyan chapel seating 800, and the Methodist missionary, William Sargent, recorded the astonishing events:[4]

[1] See Letter of Charles Pamla, 1 June 1866, in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine.
[2] W. Taylor, 1877, pp. 120ff.
[3] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Reports, 1866-68, indicated a membership increase from 614 in 1865 to 810 in 1866 to 927 in 1867, a 50% rise in two years, with additional hundreds on trial.
[4] Report of William Impey, Grahamstown and Letter of William Sargent, Healdtown, Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, October & November 1866, pp. 928 and 1036, respectively.

Tuesday—what a day! I know not how to record it. I have never witnessed anything that so reminded me of the scenes of Pentecost. . . The people were already in the chapel, engaged in a prayer meeting. Mr. Taylor took for his text 'But ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you.' The truth told upon the congregation.

At the close, after a season of silent prayer, seekers were invited to come forward, when I suppose that not less than 300 fell upon their knees and began to cry aloud for mercy, among them several Europeans. At first, all seemed confusion. Even the local preachers and leaders seemed petrified. Presently much of the noise subsided and little more than sighs and groans were heard. After a short time, one after another got into liberty . . . they generally rose to their feet, clasped their hands and with eyes sparkling and countenances beaming with joy unspeakable, they broke into a burst of praise.

The missionary occupied his time registering the names of the inquirers professing faith. The meeting extended from 11 a.m. till 4 p.m., as it did again when Taylor preached in the crowded chapel on Thursday. Three hundred inquirers were added to that church within two years.[1]

At Kamastone, in the Queenstown District,[2] hundreds of Xhosa-speaking folk and a number of Hottentots were moved. Simultaneous audible prayer followed the preaching, but no one voice was raised above the others. Taylor guided five prayer meetings and preached six times. The Rev. William Shepstone, the father of a famous son, reported 250 added to the Wesleyan society. It was also reported that some of the converts had been beaten and tied up by their heathen parents, and that only one had drawn back; however, records showed that in 1867 about 200 of them were still persevering.[3]

[1] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Reports, 1866-68, noted an increase of 180, with 245 on trial.
[2] Wesleyan Missionary Magazine, February 1867, p. 176; cf. W. Taylor, 1877, pp. 224ff.
[3] Report, Kamastone Circuit, 1866, Archives, Cory Library, cf. Missionary Reports, 1866-68.

Gratifying gains were made at Lesseyton as as 'indescribable scenes' were witnessed. These revivals also spread to the London Missionary Society stations at Hankey and Kat River, with hundreds of converts registered therein.[1]

Taylor and his interpreter crossed the Kei river and proceeded to Butterworth, where they preached to the Amagaleka tribe. There was an 'awakening of religious life and an outpouring of the Holy Spirit' that increased membership from 112 to 251, with probationers increasing tenfold; after a year, the membership rose to 413, which represented a 400% gain, plus 286 still on trial.[2]

Clarkebury Circuit recorded its 'unspeakable happiness' in directing weeping penitents to the Saviour, four hundred becoming members with 147 still on trial.[3] This 350% gain was made in a matter of five months.

Taylor continued through the Transkei, preaching with Charles Pamla.[4] The Xhosa-speaking people gave Taylor the name of Isikuni Sivutayo, the Blazing Firebrand, being impressed with a man with broad shoulders and long flowing beard, who stood more than six feet tall.

At the Shawbury Mission, there was a setback due to some Christian men having been forced to send their daughters to the huts of the chief and his lieutenants (upundhlo). Taylor resolved much of the difficulty but there were no conversions under his preaching,[5] nor were any additions noted in the 1867 returns, though there was a reviving. Osborn Circuit added a hundred members or so.[6] A missionary in the Grahamstown District of the Wesleyan field summed up the movement:[7]

[1] Basil F. Holt, 'Blazing Firebrand,' article, p. 14.
[2] Report of the Butterworth Circuit, 1866, Archives.
[3] Report of the Clarkebury Circuit, 1866, Archives; cf. Wesleyan Missionary Reports, 1866-68.
[4] W. Taylor, 1877, p. 316.
[5] Report of the Shawbury Circuit, 1866, Archives; cf. W. Taylor, 1877, p. 316.
[6] Report of the Osborn Circuit, 1866, Archives; cf. Wesleyan Missionary Reports, 1866-68.
[7] Letter of William J. Davis, 15 August 1866, in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, November 1866.

> The remarkable characteristic of the Revival is that the whole land is being blessed. In every place the Word of God is the power of God unto salvation to many that believe . . . At some of our native stations, as many as 300, 500 and, in one place, 800 conversions have taken place. More than two thousand of the native population have been saved, and certainly more than six hundred conversions have taken place among the English.

As a matter of record, in two Districts (Grahamstown and Queenstown) 2763 were added to active membership, with 2360 on trial. The promise of the revival was fully realised.[1]

Taylor found the doors open for a very wide ministry in South Africa. He travelled around the circuits, seldom staying more than a week in a place. His great success with the various tribesmen greatly impressed the Europeans.

In Port Elizabeth, a number of Europeans had professed faith some weeks before the revival had broken out in the Eastern Province.[2] Then, in Uitenhage, the Dutch Reformed minister put his bigger church at the disposal of the local Wesleyans, who made good use of the available space.[3] In the Grahamstown Wesleyan Chapel, built as a result of the Revival of 1831 and seated for 800, two hundred inquirers were counselled and added to the church.[4] Meetings among Europeans in Kingwilliamstown produced ingatherings.[5]

By the time the unusual awakening had begun among Bantu folk, Taylor had begun his ministry among the Europeans at Fort Beaufort, in a time of 'Divine favour and mercy,' when a hundred were added to the church.[6] Among the Europeans converted in Cradock was the interpreter who translated Taylor's American English into African Dutch.[7]

[1] Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, November 1866, cf. Wesleyan Missionary Reports, 1866-68.
[2] W. Taylor, 1877, pp. 41ff., cf. Wesleyan Missionary Reports, 1866-68.
[3] Ibid.
[4] cf. Wesleyan Missionary Reports, 1866-68.
[5] Ibid., cf. W. Taylor, 1877, pp. 41ff.
[6] Minutes of the Quarterly Meeting in Fort Beaufort, 9 November 1866, in Archives, Cory Library.
[7] W. Taylor, 1877, pp. 41ff.

A hundred Europeans were converted in Queenstown, an English-speaking town. According to the Rev. H.H. Dugmore,[1] Taylor's converts were of every age from ten to sixty, both married and unmarried, fathers and mothers of families, folks phlegmatic or excitable in temperament, enthusiasts and scoffers, and persons of varied social rank. Membership of the European Circuit at Queenstown increased from eighty to more than two hundred.[2]

For obvious reasons, most of the additions reported during the Awakening were Methodists, but other denominations also shared in the general rise of religious fervour.

The German-speaking Baptists who settled on the frontier among their compatriots founded Kingwilliamstown Baptist Church in 1861, Hugo Gütsche reporting 'times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord' in numerous Awakenings from 1867 onward.[3] There is no record of Taylor having visited the East London district in his itinerary.

On 1st September 1866, Taylor and his party set out for Kokstad and the Griqua territory, occupied by a colony of Afrikaans-speaking half-castes from far to the west, for whom he preached also.[4]

In Natal, Taylor preached in the towns to the Europeans and Pamla preached at the stations to the Zulus.[5] In five weeks, more than three hundred Europeans besides seven hundred Zulus became inquirers, eight hundred standing.

Because Natal Europeans appreciated so little any Zulu Christian workers, Taylor had considered it wise to turn over native work to Charles Pamla as a fully qualified and responsible evangelist. Taylor spent five weeks preaching in Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Edendale and Verulam and thereabouts. Pamla went farther inland.

1 Sermon of H.H.Dugmore, preached 15 July 1866, in Queenstown, cited in W. Taylor, 1877.
2 Wesleyan Missionary Reports, 1866-68.
3 Christian Express, 1 October 1876.
4 W. Taylor, 1877, pp. 474ff, cf. Wesleyan Missionary Reports, 1866-68.
5 Letter of C. Harmon, 2 August 1867, in Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, November 1867, pp. 1038-39.

During William Taylor's journey through the Cape Colony, Kaffraria and Natal, the ministers recorded the names of more than four thousand inquirers professing faith, placed in the care of the Methodist and other churches. Five years' statistics showed the contribution of the Awakening, a total membership of 8247 in 1866, indicating a loss since 1865 of 84; followed by a 10,108 total in 1867, representing a gain of 1861; then 11,367 in 1868, another gain of 1259; followed by 11,524 in 1869, a tapered-off increase of 157.[1] Thus in only two years, almost a 40% increase was recorded.

Natal leaders reported 'the great revival of religion' in connection with the ministry of the Rev. William Taylor in 1866; it was said in the Eastern Province that 'the Lord had done great things'; while leaders at the Cape expressed a 'sense of the benefit realised' by the ministry of the tireless Californian.[2] London Methodists happily acknowledged the 'most gracious results in the conversions of sinners and the quickening of societies' in South Africa, commenting:

> After the lapse of more than half a century since the Wesleyan missions were commenced in South Africa, a great and favourable change has taken place in the native work . . . there has been a glorious revival of religion in South Africa in the European and Native population.

Thus the decade following 1860 proved to be a time of real revival among Bantu, Boers and Britons throughout the vast and colourful country, among peoples both civilized and semi-civilized. And the seven years of plenty between 1859 and 1866 were happily not followed by seven lean years.

1 Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, London, held 1865-69, pp. 318, 550; 121, 355 & 584.
2 Letter of Samuel Hardy, 24 January 1867, written in Stellenbosch, in Minutes (MS) Cape Town Conference, 1866, and the Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, April 1867, pp. 38, 44.

Chapter XII

Union and Disunion

Independence did not produce concord in the Republics north of the Orange river.[1] The burghers of the eastern districts of the South African Republic declared themselves independent under the title of the Lydenburg Republic, and a quarrel broke out between the Orange Free State and the South African Republic, with armed forces facing each other south of the Vaal, although no fighting ensued. It was an odd time of quarrels and friendships. For instance, in the year 1860, the President of the South African Republic paid a visit to the Orange Free State and was elected President there too, whereupon the Transvaalers asked him to resign his position with them.

Inside the South African Republic itself, the Transvaalers were bickering among themselves. Small-size civil wars broke out, and so greatly did the financial standing and political prestige of the Republic decay that the smaller Orange Free State frowned on a proposed union.[2]

Meanwhile, there was talk of confederation in South Africa. In 1872, responsible government had been given the Cape, and soon afterwards the Orange Free State began to talk of reunion. The British Colonies held the coastline and controlled the customs revenue; so it seemed common sense to establish some sort of customs union whereby the income of Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth and East London might be shared with Pretoria and Bloemfontein.

The arrival of a far-seeing Governor in the person of Sir George Grey, lately Governor of New Zealand, spurred on the federation idea.[3] His success in stabilizing government in New Zealand made him hopeful of a 'union' of the British Colonies and the Boer Republics, and an echo of his sentiment was heard in the Volksraad of the Orange Free State which formally resolved that 'union or alliance with Cape Colony on a plan of federation or otherwise is desirable.'

[1] E.A.Walker, 1965, pp. 272ff.
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., p. 301.

But renewed unwillingness of a new British administration in power in London frustrated the plan, and once the opportunity had passed, friction soon robbed the parties concerned of goodwill. When Lord Carnarvon, experienced in Canadian confederation in 1867, began to work for the same ideal in South Africa, he met with a poor response. Nevertheless, a tentative Act was passed in 1877, the Permissive Federation Act, laying plans for a Union Parliament and Provincial Councils: and Sir Bartle Frere came out as a potential Governor-General of a new South African Dominion.[1] Yet instead of the voluntary confederation came an involuntary union bound to stir up trouble.

Sir Bartle Frere landed in Capetown and soon afterwards heard that Sir Theophilus Shepstone, with a force of twenty-five policemen, had just annexed the South African Republic (1877).[2] He had been received warmly by the inhabitants of Pretoria, and had taken the reins of government from a bankrupt, protesting, but resigned Volksraad. Despite this, war developed instead of peace.

Paul Kruger was one of the moving spirits of resistance to the annexation of the Transvaal. Although the republic was utterly bankrupt, and the annexation promised reform and stability, the freedom-loving Boer wanted his liberty. Paul Kruger and other companions were sent to London to plead for liberty, but their mission failed. The Boers held many protest meetings, impressing even Sir Bartle Frere with their numerical show of strength. But they soon began to see that the annexation was meant to be permanent, so in 1880 they took up arms and surrounded a small force of British soldiers on their way up from Natal, overwhelming the resistance, and killing their commander.[3] The outcry in Great Britain and English-speaking South Africa was violent, but a Liberal government was in power, and it was decided to hand the country back to the Boers.[4]

[1] see J. Martineau, volume ii, p. 161.
[2] Select Constitutional Documents, 1795-1910, p. 446 (G. W. Eybers, editor)
[3] W. J. Leyds, chapter xix.
[4] E. A. Walker, 1965, p. 389.

That year, 1880, Cecil Rhodes founded with a touch of real daring the DeBeers Company to exploit the diamond fields of Kimberley, claimed by the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, but taken over by British interests.

As white South Africa consolidated into four states but two opposing camps, each area impinged upon the Bantu folk.

Bantu pressure had been greatly lessened on the frontiers of the Eastern Cape Province when the 'great delusion' led twenty-five thousand tribemen to death by starvation and a hundred thousand more to vagrancy. In the 1870s, a last uprising occurred; the Amaxhosa were crushed completely.[1] Cape Colony was now safe from depredations of the Bantu.

Natal was inhabited chiefly by Zulus, those fighting men of South Africa whose name was a terror to all others. Back in 1879, long-brewing trouble between Natal and Zululand brought about flaming warfare. The Zulu paramount chief was Cetewayo, a son of Panda, a half-brother of the fierce conqueror, Chaka. He scored an initial success in wiping out a force of eight hundred British soldiers at Isandhlwana, a heavy loss to the small army then holding Natal. The tide was turned in an epic defence of a post at Rorke's Drift, and, by the end of August, 1879, Cetewayo was a captive and the power of the Zulus as a military force was broken.[2] Dutch and British settlement went on without hindrance.

Similarities and differences existed between the expansion of the Afrikaner nation northward and that of the Americans westward. The frontier revivals of 1800 had ensured that the leading edge of American settlement became evangelically Christian. An ungodly, lawless body of frontiersmen became susceptible to the influences of Christian faith, education and culture, and rapidly rose to the level of civilization enjoyed in the settled society from which they came. The westering Americans made use of the services of preacher-farmers in the Baptist and Methodist movements, which enabled these evangelistic denominations to take the lead over the slower moving Anglicans and Presbyterians handicapped by organizations designed for English and Scottish conditions.

[1] Ibid., p. 299.
[2] For a history of the Zulu War, Colenso & Durnford.

Unlike American pioneers, the Voortrekkers had left their homes already members of a well-established religious fellowship, and they usually carried their religion with them, families maintaining Bible reading and prayer, and on Sunday whole laagers attending worship of a sort, though handicapped by the lack of ministers, a defect of the Calvinist system.[1]

Many Dutch Reformed leaders in the settled Cape were concerned about the spiritual welfare of their compatriots on the northern frontiers of civilization where trekboers, as distinct from the Voortrekkers, had become neglected nomads. The Afrikaners were dependent on the ordained ministers of their Reformed system, and among them there existed no alternatives to the slow-moving ecclesiastical machinery set up by John Calvin for Geneva and the settled society of Europe.

Cape Colony itself was short of ministers. At the time of the 1860 Revival, Robertson of Swellendam was sent to both European motherlands to enlist likely men for service in South Africa. As at the time of the earlier recruitment, he found that Holland lagged far behind Scotland in evangelical fervour, so he enlisted two Hollanders and eight Scots, the latter agreeing to go to the Netherlands to learn the language of the Church. Among them was the redoubtable Alexander McKidd, who later became a renowned missionary.[2]

In the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, the settlers and their successors were served by Dutch Reformed ministers who followed them. Andrew Murray the younger, for example, exercised a fruitful ministry in Bloemfontein from 1849 onwards.[3] But the growing churches were understaffed. In Natal, for a further example, the Voortrekkers enlisted the services of both American and German missionaries. The use of a lay ministry, like the Baptist preacher-farmer or the Methodist circuit-rider, was alien to their thinking.[4]

[1] J. du Plessis, 1919, chapter iv-viii.
[2] Ibid., pp. 191ff.
[3] Ibid., pp. 78ff.
[4] W. W. Sweet, 1950, chapter xiv, on 'The Western Movement of Population and the Rise of the Popular Churches,' stresses the importance of lay ministry in the Baptist and Methodist denominations.

Nevertheless, just as the Awakenings set the pattern for the American frontier, the Revivals set the pattern for the South African frontier. As the Revival of the 1800s provided dynamic for the outreach of the Cape churches to European pioneers and African tribesmen, the 1860 Awakening helped the Stellenbosch Seminary in equipping men for an evangelistic ministry. And the continued influence of Revival was expressed in the revival-and-evangelistic dedication of the days between Ascension and Pentecost in every Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk.

There was a reaction against such revival and evangelism in the Dutch Reformed Church in the Republics north of the Orange and the Vaal. The Nederduits Hervormde Kerk arose from the work of Netherlands ministers serving the settlers in the Transvaal, ministers who were accused by the Cape Dutch Reformed Evangelicals of being rationalistic.[1] The Nederduits Hervormde Kerk was actually established as a state church by the Transvaal Volksraad which distrusted the links with the Colonial Government which the Cape Church sustained. The Gereformeerde Kerk (or Reformed Church of South Africa) in turn arose from the dissatisfaction of conservatives with Nederduits Hervormde Kerk 'liberalism' and Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk 'evangelism.'[2]

The last-named body was subject most to revival influence, and the dynamic of revivals enabled it to maintain its lead as the largest body of Afrikaans-speaking Christians. Despite its arrangement with Cape Colonialism, the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk expressed an Afrikaner nationalism, while its evangelicalism provided a needed link with the religious life of English-speaking South Africans in its Nonconformist expressions, a warmth of cooperation between Evangelicals of both languages, as contrasted with the incompatibility of Anglo-Catholic English and ultra-Calvinist Dutch, having been a major factor in the fusion of elements of South African nationality. Evangelicalism is more often centripetal.

[1] see S. P. Engelbrecht, (Nederduits Hervormde Kerk history), volume i, pp. 114ff.
[2] cf. J. McCarter, 1867, on the history of the Dutch Reformed Church.

As in the settlement of Australia, the Anglican settlers were followed by the competitive activity of Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical. The arrival of Robert Gray to become the Bishop of Cape Town[1] further increased the influence of Anglo-Catholic churchmanship, while Evangelical Anglicans remained weak, though not feeble. It is surely significant that the great Awakening of the 1860s which stirred Dutch Reformed and Methodist Churches and others had but little influence upon the Church of the Province of South Africa.

But the Awakening of the 1860s continued to expand through a virile Methodism. Within five years of the Taylor mission, the Methodists had thriving congregations in the Orange Free State and (within fifteen) in the Transvaal. In 1871, the Methodists began ministering to the diamond diggers of Kimberley and from 1881 onward to the gold miners on the Witwatersrand. In 1873, representative government of the Methodists began, and, ten years later, the South African Methodist Conference was formed.[2]

It was not until 1893 that the Presbyterians of South Africa constituted a presbytery. Baptist churches also remained numerically weak though theologically evangelical. Also the Lutherans stayed small in numbers. These churches shared in the movements of revival in all four provinces.

The Afrikaans-speaking Cape Coloured folk divided their religious loyalties between Islam, transplanted from the East, and Christianity absorbed from European neighbours.

The Indian immigrants imported into Natal, at first Tamil and Telugu-speaking but increasingly adopting English, divided their devotional loyalties between Hinduism, inherited from the Orient, and Christianity absorbed from European neighbours and from South India in later years.[3]

[1] C.F.Pascoe, on the S. P. G., pp. 269ff;
cf. E.H. Day, the Life of Robert Gray.
[2] J. Whiteside, on the history of the Methodist Church in South Africa, pp.
[3] On the Tamil Church, see N.C.Sargant, pp. 60ff.

Chapter XIII

Moody and the Students

As the figure of Charles Grandison Finney dominated the field of American evangelism during the middle third of the nineteenth century, so the figure of Dwight Lyman Moody dominated that of the final third.

Finney was a well-educated scholar; Moody an uneducated countryman who never learned to spell or to punctuate his pungent speech. This they had in common, that they were full of zeal to win men and women to Jesus Christ.

Family fortune scarcely suggested a career as a world evangelist for Moody.[1] His father had died when Dwight was four years old, leaving his mother and eight other children (including twins born posthumously) without provision. Nor did family religion suggest it. All the Moody children were baptized in the local Unitarian Church in Northfield, a small village in rural Massachusetts.

It was as an eighteen-year old in Boston that Dwight Moody was converted. It seemed a simple rather than a profound experience, for when he was examined for admission to the local church, he had so little to say that his candidacy was deferred until he had learned a little more.[2] A little over a year later, Moody moved to the frontier town of Chicago to better his fortune. It was here that his great career began.

The Revival of 1857-58 in Chicago made a profound impression upon the life of the zealous young man from New England.[3] The churches of every denomination were packed to overflowing, yet the rapid growth of the town provided all the raw material for evangelism needed. In Chicago, Moody became interested in winning young folk to Christ through the Sunday School and through the Young Men's Christian Association.

[1] W. R. Moody, biography of Dwight L. Moody,
[2] J. C. Pollock, 1963, pp. 14-15.
[3] W. R. Moody, p. 47. (The only satisfactory explanation of the date of Moody's letter is that he wrote it in the New Year of 1858.)

Moody became an expert in 'drumming up' scholars for Sunday School.[1] In 1858, he started a Sunday School of his own in a vacant saloon, and before long it was the largest Sunday School in Chicago. All the while, he continued to be active in his business as a salesman.

Moody's Sunday School developed into a church. In 1860, Moody decided to give up his business income (then bringing him $5000 a year) and to 'live by faith' (which brought him $150 in the first year). In 1864, the congregation occupied its own building on Illinois Street, and next year Moody was elected president of the Y.M.C.A. in Chicago. He remained a layman.

It was in 1867 that Moody made his first trip to Britain, seeking out leaders of the evangelical movement there, such as C. H. Spurgeon, George Müller, George Williams, Lord Shaftesbury, R. C. Morgan, Henry Varley, Harry Moorhouse and those who seemed to Moody to have something to share with him in the work of the Lord.[2]

In 1868, the great Farwell Hall of the Y.M.C.A. was burned down. Harry Moorhouse, a product of the 1860 Awakening in the city of Manchester, came to Chicago and visited Moody, and was asked to preach—a mistake, everyone thought at first. Moorhouse preached for a week on the love of God, using the text, John chapter iii, verse 16. He profoundly moved D. L. Moody, whose preaching was never the same again, and who became a preacher of a new message, the same Scriptures but in a new spirit.[3]

Moody had been married in 1862 to a young English-born woman, Emma Revell. In 1870, he met a helpmeet of a very different kind, Ira D. Sankey, who became his soloist in his worldwide ministry.[4] In 1871, a great fire destroyed the city of Chicago, reducing to ashes fifty churches and missions. In 1871, while visiting New York, Moody experienced a new enduement of the Holy Spirit.[5]

[1] Ibid., pp. 55ff.
[2] Ibid., pp. 131ff.
[3] Ibid., pp. 137ff.
[4] Ibid., pp. 125ff.
[5] Ibid., p. 149.

In 1872, Moody paid a second visit to Britain. After a night of prayer in Dublin, Henry Varley said to him: 'Moody, the world has yet to see what God will do with a man fully consecrated to Him.' That comment startled Moody! His visit brought a local awakening in a North London church and a number of invitations to return to Britain for wider ministry followed. An Anglican clergyman, William Pennefather, sent him an invitation by letter to America. Moody tried to settle again in Chicago, but he felt restless until he decided to return to Britain and win ten thousand souls to Christ.

In June 1873, the Moody and Sankey families arrived in Liverpool to learn that Pennefather had since died.[2] Moody crossed to York and commenced meetings on short notice. The response was slow but definite. There was still no great movement in the next campaign, in Sunderland. But in the Newcastle-on-Tyne series, Moody and Sankey evangelism proved more than successful.

The real turning point in Moody's ministry came in his Edinburgh campaign.[3] Despite Calvinistic conservatism, the evangelist won the enthusiastic approval of the people, both inside and outside of churches. The ministers studied the movement carefully, then began to back it without reserve. Moody reintroduced the noonday prayer meetings of the 1858-59 Awakenings. His evening meetings were crowded again and again, taxing the largest places.

After three weeks in Dundee, Moody began a campaign in Glasgow which made a lasting impact on the city.[4] Not only were thousands converted, but Moody's United Evangelistic Committee transformed itself into the Glasgow Evangelistic Association and maintained a dozen subsidiary organizations of evangelism and relief.

The Belfast Mission of the Moody and Sankey team began in the autumn of 1874. A daily noonday prayer meeting was begun in the Donegall Square church. The evening meetings attracted an enormous attendance of young men. Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and other ministers cooperated.[5]

[1] Ibid., pp. 134ff. [2] Ibid., pp. 152ff.
[3] Ibid., pp. 182ff. [4] Ibid., pp. 197ff.
[5] Ibid., pp. 207ff.

In Dublin, the Roman Catholic majority noted Moody's own avoidance of affront to their faith, and proved friendly, if not enthusiastic. Again there were several thousand professed conversions in the campaign!

The Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham and Liverpool Missions followed, each with success.[2] They were moving towards a climax in London. Twenty thousand people each night heard them in the Agricultural Hall in Islington. While William Taylor of California continued there, D. L. Moody preached in a tabernacle in Bow to the poor and in the opera house in the Haymarket to the rich each evening. The London meetings lasted twenty weeks, with an aggregate of 2,500,000 attending.[3]

As in Scotland, Moody's work in England gave birth to a number of Christian enterprises besides giving a breath of revival to existent organizations. It made such an impact that Friedrich Engels, a collaborator with Karl Marx in his communist propaganda, explained the whole business as a plot of the British bourgeoisie to import Yankee revivalism to keep the proletariat contented.

Moody returned to the United States in August 1875 and commenced a campaign in Brooklyn in October, followed by a greater effort in Philadelphia in late November. In both, vast crowds attended, for news of success in Britain had enthused the American church people. In February 1876, Moody held a campaign in New York, where New Yorkers attended in tens of thousands, many responding.

Moody returned to Chicago to campaign in the winter of 1876, and received a hero's welcome from a city which now claimed him as a son.[4] Early in 1877, he commenced ministry in Boston,[5] another city of his youth, but there he encountered opposition from both Roman and Unitarian sides. A year later, he was still campaigning in New England. Ira Sankey parted from him to conduct a singing ministry in England, but failing there returned to work with Moody as before. In 1880-81, together they ministered in cities across the country as far as the Pacific Coast.[6]

[1] Ibid., pp. 211ff. [2] Ibid., pp. 215ff. [3] Ibid., pp. 223ff.
[4] Ibid., pp. 263ff. [5] Ibid., pp. 287ff. [6] Ibid., pp. 291ff.

Moody's second British campaign commenced in Newcastle in October 1881,[1] moving to Edinburgh for six weeks, then to Glasgow, in which neighbourhood he preached for five months. He then conducted short series of meetings in Welsh cities and towns and in the provincial cities of England. In 1883, Moody conducted an eight months' mission in London. Two large temporary structures were built, one in North London and the other in South London, and as soon as a three weeks' mission had been completed in one, it was soon transferred to another location on the same side of the Thames while the other building was being used across the river.

After 1884, Moody conducted his evangelistic campaigns in smaller American cities,[2] besides giving much of his time to educational promotion at Chicago and Northfield, and to Bible conferences.

The story of what God had accomplished through Moody in Great Britain and the United States created quite a great interest in evangelism and revival in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa,[3] even though the American evangelist was never to visit the southern commonwealths.

De Kerkbode devoted much material in its columns to the ministry of Moody and Sankey.[4] Not only was Andrew Murray vitally interested, but other ministers both English and Dutch-speaking, returning from Britain full of enthusiasm for the wholesomeness of Moody's work, imparted a hunger and a zeal for like results in South Africa.

In the 1870s, therefore, there were reports of evangelical awakenings in Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Wellington, Montagu and Swellendam.[5] Out of this movement came the evangelistic tours of Dr. Andrew Murray in the dorps of sections of the Cape, the first in 1879, the second five years later, the third in 1886, the fourth in 1887, the fifth in 1888, the sixth in 1890, the seventh in 1891 and the eighth in 1897.[6]

[1] Ibid., pp. 312ff.
[2] Ibid., pp. 297ff.
[3] J. du Plessis, 1919, p. 322.
[4] see De Kerkbode, 1874 and 1875.
[5] J. du Plessis, loc. cit.
[6] Ibid., passim.

Andrew Murray was not the only Reformed minister who reaped a harvest of converts in the country. The Dutch Reformed Church had been so thoroughly stirred by the 1860 Revival that evangelism was taken as a matter of course, hence the Synod of 1876 devoted time and attention to special services for evangelistic preaching.[1]

From 1884 onward, a significant awakening developed in Umvoti County in Natal, around Greytown, in which James Turnbull was the Dutch Reformed minister. The widespread movement started among the Boers, and whole families of farmers professed conversion. As a result of this, a deep concern for the spiritual welfare of their English-speaking neighbours developed among the Boers. David Russell (of Pietermaritzburg) was invited over to Greytown to direct an evangelistic outreach in which hundreds became inquirers and three hundred joined the churches.[2]

In Greytown, an English-speaking merchant commented:

> Nothing short of a miracle could have brought about a change like this so soon after the battle of Majuba.

The farmers of Umvoti County became much concerned also regarding the masses of Zulus in that part of Natal. Ardent endeavours were made to evangelize the Bantu farm population through meetings organized by laymen.

David Russell, who had commenced a lively ministry as a layman in 1878 in Durban, went on to become an ordained Presbyterian minister as well as one of the best-known South African evangelists, preaching throughout English-speaking countries; his ministry lasted three score years.

Also of deep significance to South African Christianity was the Keswick Convention for the Deepening of the Spiritual Life,[3] an evangelical movement with a truly world-wide influence, budded at gatherings in London, Oxford and Brighton in 1873, 1874 and 1875 and blossomed into early maturity at the Lake District resort in 1875; but the seed was sown in the great Revival of 1858-59 in the English-speaking world.[4]

[1] Ibid., p. 322.
[2] M.C.Dick, biography of David Russell, p. 89.
[3] J. C. Pollock, 1964, pp. 23ff.
[4] J. Edwin Orr, 1949, pp. 218ff.

William Edwin Boardman had published at the height of the Revival of 1858 a treatise on the Higher Christian Life.[1] He was a zealous young Presbyterian businessman when he started his search in the 1840s for a holier life.[2] This book was a huge success on both sides of the Atlantic, being first published in Britain in 1860. A circulation of 200,000 copies was reported.

The year 1860 dated the conversion of a young Anglican clergyman, Evan Hopkins, and it was not long before a copy of Boardman's treatise found its way into the hands of Evan Hopkins,[3] then engaged in an engrossing revival ministry, not having found the time of reflection and retrospect that he needed to lead him into deeper blessing.

On 1st May, 1873, Evan Hopkins with fifteen other people met in Mayfair to discuss the subject of the Deepening of the Christian Life.[4] The convert and evangelist of the Revival entered into a fuller experience so real that his wife was the first to follow him into it. Evan Hopkins became the outstanding leader of the Keswick Movement, making to it a contribution beyond estimation.

In July 1874, a conference was conducted at the Broadlands estate in Hampshire, the seat of Lord Mount Temple, the leaders being Mr. and Mrs. R. Pearsall Smith. Before he could participate in a conference announced for July 1875, Smith suffered a nervous breakdown brought about by some charges of more serious import than the indiscretion which had provoked them. He retired from public life.[5]

Also at Broadlands was Theodore Monod, the Frenchman who had been converted in 1858 in the United States. Union Meetings for Promotion of Scriptural Holiness were begun in Oxford in August 1874, with the help of Canon Cristopher, an evangelical stalwart.[6]

[1] T. L. Smith, pp. 106-107.
[2] On W. E. Boardman, see M. W. Boardman's work.
[3] For a memoir of T. D. Harford-Battersby, see the biography by Harford-Battersby.
[4] W. B. Sloan, pp. 9-10.
[5] J. C. Pollock, 1964, pp. 30ff.
[6] W. B. Sloan, pp. 12, 15.

Canon Harford Battersby of the resort town of Keswick in Cumberland, who had been active in the diocese of Carlisle during the Awakening of 1860 when he formed an Evangelical Union to foster spiritual life,[1] had read Boardman's book and discussed the subject during an evangelistic mission with the Anglican evangelist, William Haslam. Urged to attend the meetings in Oxford, he heard Evan Hopkins there and himself entered into a deeper experience.

The Convention at Oxford was followed by a larger one at Brighton, begun on 29th May 1875.[2] Henry Varley, of 1859 Revival fame, spoke there several times. D. L. Moody, as he closed his great Opera House meetings in London, sent the goodwill and prayers of eight thousand people.

The Vicar of St. John's, Keswick, invited his friends to the Lakeside town and thus began the series of Conventions for the Deepening of the Christian Life that gained for the Keswick Movement a unique place of leadership in the evangelical world. A majority of its leaders were either converts or evangelists of the 1859 Revival and quite a number of its new speakers had a link therewith.[3]

Canon Harford Battersby continued to preside until his death; Evan Hopkins emerged as the leader; William Haslam ministered; Theodore Monod participated. After an address by Evan Hopkins, Handley C. G. Moule was stirred to stand publicly as a seeker after blessing, and as Principal of a Cambridge college, Ridley Hall, or as Bishop of Durham, he addressed Keswick thirteen times.

Andrew Murray experienced a deeper dedication in 1882 at Keswick, and became a mouthpiece of its message all over the world.[4] In 1887, a new speaker was F. B. Meyer, converted during the Revival in the 1860s in London.[5] Another convert was Charles Inwood, the Methodist evangelist, used of God in revival among the Bantu in Malawi.[6]

[1] Harford-Battersby, pp. 135, 152.
[2] W. B. Sloan, p. 19.
[3] J. Edwin Orr, 1949, pp. 219-220.
[4] cf. J. du Plessis, 1919, passim.
[5] see W. Y. Fullerton's Life of F. B. Meyer.
[6] On Charles Inwood, see A. M. Hay's biography.

The Keswick Convention became a missionary force after Reginald Radcliffe in 1886 borrowed the tent for a missionary meeting.[1] Hudson Taylor and Eugene Stock used the Keswick platform to enlist young people for the mission fields. The Keswick line of teaching was propounded in South Africa by Andrew Murray.[2]

The influence of D. L. Moody was profoundly felt among Christian students. Moody was not a theologian. His own theological convictions were strongly conservative, but he maintained cordial friendships with men of other points of view, including Henry Drummond. But until the 1880s, Moody had avoided ministry to students, chiefly because he felt himself unequipped.

'There never was a place,' said Moody, 'that I approached with greater anxiety than Cambridge. Never having had the privilege of a university education, I was nervous about meeting university men.'[3]

Well might Moody be anxious, for there were many high-spirited students lying in wait for him. There were hoots and cheers, fire-crackers and guffaws, but Moody kept his temper. His student sponsors had heavy hearts that 5th of November in 1882, but next day a ring-leader, Gerald Lander of Trinity College, called to apologize.[4]

Although seventeen hundred students had been counted in the first meeting in the Corn Exchange, only a hundred attended the second in a seated gymnasium, but they included Gerald Lander. On Wednesday, before a larger crowd, Moody gave an evangelistic appeal and after repeating it saw more than fifty men make their way to the inquiry room. One was Gerald Lander.[5] Through the week, conversions were professed by intellectuals and athletes, many of them proving to be deep and lasting. The final meeting in the Corn Exchange brought eighteen hundred hearers, and concluded a mission which proved to be the beginning of a worldwide movement.[6]

[1] W. B. Sloan, p. 32.
[2] J. du Plessis, 1919, passim.
[3] J. C. Pollock, 1963, pp. 228ff.
[4] Ibid. [5] Ibid.
[6] see J. C. Pollock, on this Cambridge Movement.

Next day, without the benefit of a Sunday start, Moody began his mission in the Corn Exchange, Oxford, which was filled to overflowing. Bolder, he quenched attempts at rowdyism several nights running and gained a hearing for his message. The audience moved from the Clarendon Assembly Rooms to the Town Hall, where Moody gathered the inquirers in a meeting for counsel, and a number made personal transactions with God.

Within a year of these two campaigns, Moody's converts were preparing for foreign missionary service; others were helping in Moody's evangelism at home. Two Studd brothers of cricketing fame, J.E. Kynaston Studd and Charles T. Studd, addressed one of Moody's Stepney mission meetings, and a young man named Wilfred Grenfell was converted.[1]

Montagu Beauchamp, William Cassels, D. E. Hoste, Arthur and Cecil Polhill-Turner, Stanley Smith and C. T. Studd, all Moody's helpers and some of them his converts, offered themselves for work in China under the China Inland Mission. They first became a remarkable witness team named 'the Cambridge Seven,' then sailed for China in 1885.[2]

Meanwhile, in the United States and Canada, the Young Men's Christian Associations had become the main vehicles of religious life on the campuses of North American colleges and universities. The first Y.M.C.A.s for students were organized in the University of Michigan and the University of Virginia in 1858, during the Revival.[3] Within ten years, there were forty such associations; and an Inter-Collegiate Young Men's Christian Association was founded in 1877.[4]

Two years earlier, a young man named Luther Wishard moved to Princeton University and found fellowship in a local Philadelphian Society, a Christian union.[5] One of his friends therein was T. W. Wilson, known in class as Tommy, but better known later as Woodrow Wilson who carried his deep Christian idealism to the Presidency of the United States of America during critical times.

[1] Ibid., pp. 249ff.
[2] Ibid., pp. 252ff.
[3] C.P.Shedd, p. 94.
[4] Ibid., pp. 120ff. [5] Ibid.

Luther Wishard became the mainspring of student Young Men's Christian Associations, and within another ten years there were two hundred and fifty associations on campuses with 12,000 members.[1] Another Princeton student leader, Robert Mateer, became director of the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance which held its first convention in 1880 with two hundred and fifty students from thirty seminaries.[2] These student organizations both were strongly evangelical and evangelistic.

Luther Wishard, as organizer and evangelist of the Inter-Collegiate Y.M.C.A., had tried hard to interest Moody in a collegiate ministry but had been rebuffed by a modest Moody conscious of his academic deficiencies. In 1884, Wishard pleaded again with Moody, who consented to preach at a few colleges in 1885, including Dartmouth, Yale and Princeton. His college-slanted sermons, he knew, were few. He looked to better prepared friends for help.

Meanwhile Stanley Smith, the Cambridge oarsman, and C. T. Studd, the Cambridge cricketer, had visited Edinburgh University[3] in 1884 to make an impact on the four thousand students. Moody invited Kynaston Studd to spend the academic term in the autumn of 1885 in North American colleges, of which he visited twenty in thirteen weeks.[4] One of those he challenged to a dedication of heart and life at the Cornell University was John R. Mott, a law student who had been converted in a revival in Postville, Iowa at the age of 14.[5]

An outcome of Moody's growing interest in the student world was the convening of a college conference at Mount Hermon in Massachusetts in the summer of 1886,[6] one that was arranged for Christian students and one which proved to be a worldwide significance.

Two hundred and fifty students from a hundred colleges attended, and Moody was as popular as any eminent lecturer to collegians. One of the college delegates was Robert P. Wilder, son of a missionary to India, who had already formed a student foreign missions society at Princeton University.

[1] Ibid., pp. 120ff.
[2] Ibid., p. 217.
[3] Ibid., p. 281.
[4] Ibid., p. 290.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., pp. 253ff.

The Wilder family, whose head had been one of the Haystack Compact missionaries in the early 1800s, were praying that a thousand students from American universities might be enlisted for foreign missionary endeavour. To every student who would listen, Robert Wilder presented the call of mission fields 'white to harvest.' He persuaded Moody to set aside time for missionary talks, and this combination of prayer and presentation had its effect. One hundred delegates signed a declaration of willingness to serve overseas.

Robert Wilder and John Forman toured the universities and succeeded in enlisting about two thousand volunteers for missionary service. At first, Moody was cautious about the enthusiasm of the youngsters, but he continued to help them. Volunteers increased their own numbers to three thousand in the academic year, 1887-88.[1]

Moody's brilliant helper, Henry Drummond, visited the student conference at Northfield in the summer of 1887.[2] He had already been most successful in his ministry to British students, and he repeated his success with Americans in many colleges.[3] Drummond was attacked by his conservative brethren for his attempt to bring religion and science into harmony, and, though Moody lined up with the conservatives, he stood by Drummond as a great and zealous soulwinner.[4]

Luther Wishard returned the British visitors' calls by touring the Universities of Cambridge, Oxford, Edinburgh and Glasgow in the spring of 1888. The summer he spent in Germany, France, Switzerland and Sweden. Wishard then extended his journey around the world, reporting conversions from many places.[5]

James B. Reynolds, another student volunteer, crossed the Atlantic to Oslo University, arriving in the afterglow of a great revival there.[6] He also visited Stockholm, Lund and Copenhagen in 1889.

[1] C. P. Shedd, p. 267.
[2] G. A. Smith, pp. 368ff.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] C. P. Shedd, pp. 282-285.
[6] Ibid., p. 340.

In 1891, Robert Wilder visited the universities of Britain in the interests of foreign missions. In this endeavour, he enlisted three hundred British volunteers for missions.[1]

In 1890, Henry Drummond sailed for Australia and spent a profitable time challenging students in the universities of the southern continent. His days were numbered, however, for he fell ill in 1894 and died in 1897.[2] John R. Mott[3] began to organize the Student Volunteers in the universities of New Zealand and Australia before Drummond died.

The Student Volunteers sought to enlist every Christian in the objective of evangelizing all the world. Their watch-word was 'the evangelization of the world in this generation.' Their methods were the recruitment of university students, and their dynamic was wholly evangelical.[4]

Latourette has declared his careful opinion that it was by means of the Student Volunteers in the various countries that a large proportion of the outstanding leaders in the world-wide spread of Protestant Christianity in the twentieth century were recruited.[5]

The same great historian has drawn attention to the fact that the decades in which evolutionary theory in science and higher criticism in religion were making headway were the same years in which the Student Volunteers were growing so phenomenally.[6] Intellectuals were recruited for the rapid evangelization of the pagan world.

In the winter of 1880-81, there was a time of revival in Williston Congregational Church in Portland, Maine. Its pastor, Francis E. Clark, wishing to conserve the blessing, organized a Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour to call youth to a greater dedication and service. The idea caught on, and became an organization to encourage young folk to participate in church activities.[7]

[1] Ibid., p. 348.
[2] G. A. Smith, pp. 386ff.
[3] see a biography of John R. Mott, by B. Matthews.
[4] K. S. Latourette, IV, p. 97.
[5] Ibid., IV, p. 98.
[6] Ibid., IV, p. 436.
[7] S. B. Halliday, p. 347.

In 1886, a thousand delegates attended the first convention of Christian Endeavour held at Saratoga Springs, two thousand the second one. In 1888, five thousand Endeavourers attended the convention in Chicago, and next year six thousand five hundred (including overseas delegates) came to Philadelphia.[1] In 1890, eight thousand attended the St. Louis convention, followed by fourteen thousand in Minneapolis. In 1892, ten years after the foundation of the first society, thirty-five thousand Christian Endeavourers met in New York.

Denominational authorities adopted the idea, there being Baptist Young People's Unions of Christian Endeavour and Epworth Leagues of Christian Endeavour, etc. In 1888, Clark visited England, and three years later there were a hundred societies, a thousand six years later.[2]

In 1895, there were thirty-eight thousand C.E. Societies in the world, with 2,225,000 members. The movement was evangelical, evangelistic and church-related, suited to the climate of the day which was evangelical and ecumenical.

In 1893, Moody conducted a great campaign at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.[3] Two million visitors attended this evangelistic series at the World's Fair, which was sponsored by Moody and his Bible Institute staff.[4] Centres of preaching were chosen on the north-side, west-side and south-side of Chicago, and on Sunday mornings, Moody rented a huge circus tent near the lake front. To reach those talking French, German, Polish and other languages of Europe, he invited Monod of Paris, Stoecker of Berlin, Pinder of Poland, and other European notables to conduct special meetings, and he also shared ministry with Thomas Spurgeon of New Zealand, Henry Varley of Australia, John McNeill of Scotland, famous English-speaking evangelists. It was a great success, in support and in results.

Moody's last evangelistic series was held in Kansas City,[5] Missouri, commencing in November 1899. His committee was composed of Anglican, Baptist, Congregational, Disciples,[6]

[1] Ibid., pp. 353ff. [2] Ibid.
[3] W. W. Sweet, 1945, p. 169.
[4] W. R. Moody, pp. 409ff.
[5] Ibid., pp. 545ff. [6] Ibid., pp. 551ff.

Methodist and Presbyterian ministers. There were the usual great crowds, but Moody showed signs of exhaustion. He told his friends: 'This is the first time in forty years of preaching that I have had to give up my meetings.' He rushed home and lingered only a little, leaving his labours 22nd December 1899.

The distinguished historian, William Warren Sweet of the University of Chicago, wrote of Moody:

> The attempts of sociologists and psychologists to explain him seem trite and foolish.

Chapter XIV

Continued Social Impact

Following the mid-century Awakening, Britain maintained the lead assumed fifty years earlier in initiating social relief and reform.

It is an American historical opinion that the 1858 Revival had little effect on the social welfare of the American people. Rather its effects were suspended while the nation's energies were being consumed by the War between the States, a war with far-reaching social after-effects.

During that war, Christians engaged in social action. The United States Christian Commission brought spiritual good, intellectual improvement and social and spiritual welfare to the troops of the Federal Government.[1] There were also Christian organizations caring for the welfare of soldiers of the Confederate armies.[2]

Negroes were given as much protection as war permitted. Suddenly, in the course of hostilities, slavery was swept away. What Christians were striving for by peaceful agitation became mandatory and irrevocable almost overnight by military decree.[3]

In the post-war years, American Evangelicals found many British social enterprises ready to adopt. The 1858-1859 Evangelical Awakening, while it was primarily evangelistic, had developed a humane spirit as liberal as its theology was conservative.

Commenting on a single outcome of the Awakening, G. M. Trevelyan[4] affirmed that it had 'brought the enthusiasm of "conversion" after Wesley's original fashion to the army of the homeless and unfed, to the drunkard, the criminal and the harlot,' treating 'social work and care for the material conditions of the poor and outcast as being an essential part of the Christian mission to the souls of men and women.'

[1] L. A. Weigle, p. 188.
[2] On Confederate revivals, see J. W. Jones.
[3] cf. K.S. Latourette, IV, pp. 346ff.
[4] G. M. Trevelyan, pp. 492ff.

These tributes belong to the 1858-1859 Awakening as a whole. One of the first effects of the Awakening was the creation of new and intense sympathy with the poor and the suffering. 'God has not ordained,' protested Lord Shaftesbury,[1] 'that in a Christian country there should be an overwhelming mass of foul, helpless poverty.'

A revival school of Christian philanthropists arose, endeavouring to go straight to the heart of the slums with a practical Samaritanism, yet always ready to cooperate in all wise legislative improvements.[2] So, as the Awakening intensified the fervour of belief, denominational schemes, organizations, and committees were multiplied; numberless philanthropic institutions, asylums, homes, refuges, and all sorts of schools were founded.[3]

As before, Lord Shaftesbury was the spokesman for the Evangelical social reformers. He initiated far more Royal Commissions for social investigation than any parliamentarian in British history, extending benefits to all classes of working people.[4]

During 1864 and 1867, Industrial Extension Acts were made law, practically universalizing the provisions of labour protection.[5] In 1865, Lord Shaftesbury tackled the problem of agricultural gangs and relieved the children of the countryside from a bondage as brutal as that endured by their townsfellows in earlier decades.[6] In 1872, Shaftesbury worked for the abolition of child labour (much abused) in brickyards.[7] His most striking victory was the passing of legislation that forbade the use of little boys to clean out house and factory chimneys, a sorry exploitation.[8]

The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury was not without faults, of course.[9] As an aristocrat of class-conscious times, he upheld the superiority of his order, detested trade unions, was

[1] The Christian, 3 June 1909. [2] Ibid.
[3] W.Canton, volume iii, pp. 1-2.
[4] see J. Wesley Bready's study of Lord Shaftesbury and Social-Industrial Progress.
[5] Ibid., p. 313. [6] Ibid., pp. 318ff.
[7] Ibid., p. 326. [8] Ibid., p. 333.
[9] Ibid., p. 318ff.

occasionally a narrow-minded diehard.[1] He bitterly opposed the Salvation Army and refused to reconsider his antipathy to them and their methods.[2]

There is an immediate connection between an Evangelical Awakening and educational progress. In Great Britain in 1815, elementary schools were entirely private.[3] Lancaster and Bell, both religiously motivated, had pioneered new schools for the children of the poor, as had Robert Raikes. Two decades later, Lord Ashley (later Shaftesbury) petitioned the Queen to provide education for the working classes. As insisted upon by Evangelicals and freethinkers alike, the State contributed a measure of support to elementary schools.[4] In 1870, their recommendations were fulfilled in an Education Act, setting up public day schools. A million or more were in attendance in England in 1870; two million or more in the year 1885. This had a profound effect upon the overseas Empire, which followed the metropolitan example.

Progress was made in other ways to provide for the young. During the 1859 Revival in Dublin, several members of a brilliant family named Barnardo professed to accept Christ as Saviour during the Metropolitan Hall series. Two of the Barnardo brothers endeavoured to persuade their younger brother Tom, but he scoffed. Nevertheless he attended the meetings and witnessed the striking demonstration of spiritual conviction. This he explained away as emotional hysteria and psychological phenomena, yet in spite of his subtle arguments he was set to thinking. An address by Hambledon in the same place some weeks later caused him such conviction that long after midnight he sought, in great distress and with many tears, his brothers' help. Young Barnardo heard the call to missionary service and soon volunteered to go, but tragic discoveries in the dismal East End of London led him into his life-work, the founding of Dr. Barnardo's Homes, the world's largest private orphanage system.[5]

[1] S. C. Carpenter, p. 90.
[2] J. W. Bready, p. 402.
[3] K. S. Latourette, 1959, volume ii, p. 355.
[4] Ibid., pp. 356ff.
[5] see J.W. Bready's biography of Dr. Barnardo.

Evangelicalism was the greatest single urge of humanitarianism, according to Young and Ashton, describing British social work in the nineteenth century.

> The sentiment of human benevolence and its practical expression derived directly from religious influence. It came from the quickened knowledge, born of religious revivalism, that all men were the children of God and loved by Him.[1]

Evangelical sentiment was expressed by Mrs. Barnardo[2] thus: 'The State should deal with it but does not: the Church of Christ must!'

The same forces were at work in American experience. A Christian man, John Augustus, a cobbler in Boston, offered in 1841 to bail out a drunkard. The Massachusetts Court agreed to it and, in the next two decades, this Christian man bailed out two thousand people who might have otherwise become criminals.[3]

The Probation of First Offenders became law first in the State of Massachusetts in 1878, and a similar law passed in Britain in 1887, although preceded there by the Youthful Offenders Act of 1854 and the Discharged Prisoners Act of 1862, likewise through Christian prompting.[4]

In the early months of the 1860 Awakening in the city of London, attempts were made to reclaim the prostitutes who frequented the West End.[5] A series of evangelistic meetings were held for prostitutes only, arranged at midnight or later. At the outset, many fallen girls burst into tears when addressed by the saintly Baptist Noël who talked very tenderly to them. The sponsors took a score of penitents to houses of rehabilitation. A thousand women were rescued in a year.[5]

The work was carried on by a rare champion. Bereaved of a child, Josephine Butler sought to share the greater pain of other unfortunates, and thus found her life work in active social welfare in London.[6] In her visits to prisons, where

[1] Young and Ashton, on British Social Work, p. 41.
[2] A. F. C. Bourdillon, p. 45.
[3] Encyclopedia Britannica, 1960: 'Probation.'
[4] Young and Ashton, pp. 159ff.
[5] G. E. Morgan, p. 145.
[6] Ibid.

she shared in the menial tasks of the women, Josephine Butler was confronted with the evil of state patronage and regulation of vice. She dedicated herself in righteous indignation to the abolition of the evil. Concentrating upon the inequality of suspected women before the law, Josephine Butler worked for repeal of the obnoxious legislation that made government the official supervisor of iniquity.[1]

By the year 1877, more than eight hundred committees (provincial and metropolitan) had gathered eight thousand petitions with more than two million signatures submitted to Parliament. A Select Committee of Parliament (meeting 1879 onward) reported adversely, so Mrs. Butler rallied the Christian forces in prayer 'so that the prayers of the people of God would be as the incense of Aaron, when he ran between the living and the dead.' The Acts were suspended in 1883, repealed in 1886.

'No other woman in history,' affirmed the social reformer, Dame Millicent Fawcett,[2] 'had such a far-reaching influence or effected so widespread a change in public opinion.' Other victories, by Ellice Hopkins and by Bramwell Booth with his journalist-associate W. T. Stead, were won as the years went by,[3] and other fields of reform were invaded.

In the year 1859, the young Swiss businessman Henri Dunant followed the French Emperor Napoleon III to northern Italy, hoping to arrange business contracts. Unwittingly he found himself a spectator at the bloody battle of Solferino.

Henri Dunant was of a prominent evangelical family and was already active in the Young Men's Christian Association of Geneva.[4] Among those who had made a profound impression upon his thinking were Elizabeth Fry, because of her work as a prison reformer, and Florence Nightingale, because of her work as a military nurse.[5]

[1] see Josephine Butler's personal reminiscences.
[2] On Josephine Butler, see M. Fawcett's biography.
[3] Young & Ashton, pp. 205ff, 209ff;
cf. F. H. Stead, on Social Christianity.
[4] For a history of Dunant, see C. P. Shedd in his history of the World's Alliance of Y.M.C.A., p. 82.
[5] M. T. Boardman, p. 32.

Dunant was horrified by the suffering of the wounded and dying on the battlefield. He helped as best he could in the days that followed, noting the sincere if unskilled efforts of local people to alleviate the suffering. He wrote his memories of Solferino and published them in 1862, sending the volume to statesmen and leaders throughout Europe. As a result, a Geneva Convention was held in 1864 and from its findings and decisions came the Red Cross Movement.[1]

Prof. Timothy L. Smith, in his study of Revivalism and its effect on social reform, made this pertinent observation concerning conditions in the United States at the time:

> The rapid growth of concern with purely social issues such as poverty, working men's rights, the liquor traffic, slum housing, and racial bitterness is the chief feature distinguishing American religion after 1865 from that of the first half of the nineteenth century.[2]

The Christian gospel was transforming the face of the United States which were being rapidly industrialized as was Great Britain in earlier decades.[3] Other countries shared the same experience.

The mid-nineteenth century produced competitive systems of social reform, some of which were anti-Evangelical and anti-Christian. Arnold Toynbee has described Communism as a Christian heresy, and certainly it sprang out of the Christian social conscience rather than that of Islam or Buddhism, even though it became bitterly anti-Christian.

The founding father of Communism, Karl Heinrich Marx,[4] was of purest Jewish stock but his father became a Protestant proselyte who had him baptized in infancy.[5] Marx was not ignorant of the Evangelical brand of Christianity. He had been born at the onset of a post-Napoleonic Revival in Germany, and raised during its extension through the Lower Rhineland when his sister-in-law was active in it.[6]

[1] On Dunant and the Red Cross, see M. Gumpert.
[2] T. L. Smith, p. 148.
[3] Ibid., chapter x.
[4] N. Berdyaev, p. 192.
[5] J. Spargo, pp. 121ff.
[6] F.W.Krummacher, pp. 232ff.

The social conscience of the Revival was manifested in social reforms all around him. He knew of the nineteenth century expectation that society could be perfected through the Gospel.

Marx was in London during the great Awakening of 1860 onward.[1] Marx founded his International in 1864 and stayed in its company or at the desks of the British Museum. He was a contemporary of Lord Shaftesbury and his reforming friends, and he was still a resident of London when D. L. Moody came to preach. He derided the Moody campaigns,[2] if his friend Engels be accepted as a reliable indicator. Marx became so obsessed with his dogma that he learned to hate Christians for doing good and so delaying the day of violence. He was impatient with evolutionary methods.

As Marx had rebelled against Christianity and its ethics and methods, he did not understand the Acts of the Apostles who turned their world 'upside down' by persuasion rather than by violence. Christian meekness he considered cowardice and Christian humility he considered self-contempt; Christian steadfastness he put down as abasement and Christian obedience he put down as subjection; while Christian kindness he called obsequiousness. For the rule of God in society he substituted war of the classes; for love, hatred.

It was interesting that Marx published in 1859 (the Year of Grace) a trial volume of what was afterwards re-written as Das Kapital, published eight years later.

Communism was little more than a nuisance movement until well into the twentieth century. After the 1917 Russian Revolution, it took upon itself the fervour and trappings of a cult, calling for whole-hearted dedication of life and purpose. Its atheistic character remained unmodified despite expediences of propaganda and policy.

Christian socialists found the Marxist spirit very different to their own temper and motives. They disagreed with Marx about God, about the nature of man, about Christian morality and the purpose of life, about so many things that it was obvious that they agreed in only a few points concerning the need of reform of society and its regulation.

[1] see Spargo's biography of Karl Marx.
[2] F. Engels, on Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.

In the 1870s and 1880s, the effects of the great Awakening of 1858-59 onwards around the world were continuing to be felt in South Africa, still looking overseas for its own social dynamic.

Most significant in the 1858-59 Awakenings was the rise of the laity to play a fuller part in the affairs of the churches. Bishop Candler observed:

> The working forces of the churches were immeasurably increased. The revival of 1858 inaugurated in some sense the era of lay work in American Christianity. Wesley's system of class leaders, exhorters and local preachers had done much at an early date in the same direction but now the layman's day fully dawned on all the churches. No new doctrine was brought forward, but a new agency was brought to bear in spreading the old truth through the efforts of men who, if they could not interpret the scriptures with precision or train souls to perfection, could at least help inquiring sinners to find the Lord by relating how they themselves had found Him.[1]

In both America and Britain, the organizers of the union prayer meetings were businessmen warmly supported by clergy who were delighted to find the laymen willing, and gospel meetings were arranged by Christian laymen for their associates in industry, the services, the colleges and the professions. In South Africa, lay people initiated both prayer and gospel meetings.

G. E. Morgan commented:

> In surveying the vast growth of Home Missions, the conviction gains force that the period following the Revival of 1859 was one of the most fruitful in the annals of Christianity in this country; and also that in these later days, when so many criticize and scepticize about Revival, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the entire Home Mission Movement was not only inaugurated and manned, but financed by the revival converts and sympathizers.[2]

[1] W. A. Candler, pp. 222-223.
[2] G. E. Morgan, pp. 159-160.

As a natural corollary of the movement of the laity, the movement towards practical interdenominational unity developed rapidly. Most lay movements are interdenominational, and most revivals of religion also are interdenominational.

Furthermore, in the Awakening of 1858-59, the various denominations were so busy trying to cater for an influx of new members that there was no room for sectarian jealousy. With scarcely an exception, the churches were working together as one man. Arminian and Calvinist ignored their differences, and Baptists and Pædobaptists were blessed together. By common consent, the doctrinal controversies were left alone, and the idea worked well.

These factors held true in both America and Britain, countries of undivided loyalty, and had considerable force in bi-lingual South Africa, in which Evangelicals of Dutch or English stock or of Calvinist or Arminian theology were equally benefitted in the Awakening.

With the Revival of 1858 came the successful introduction of the Y.M.C.A. to American cities, and the flowering of the movement in the United States. The influx of converted young men into Christian churches found an outlet in evangelistic activity in the Christian Associations.[1]

From the beginning of the Revival in Britain, the Y.M.C.A. not only shared in the ingathering, but often sponsored the meetings which brought Christians together for united prayer and united evangelism. A conference of provincial and city Y.M.C.A. delegates met in London at the start of the Revival, and reiterated an early principle of the Y.M.C.A., binding it on all branches . . . a decided and authenticated conversion to God as a requirement for membership,[2] and membership was increased rather than decreased thereby.

The lasting effect of the 1858-59 Revivals on the Y.M.C.A. is scarcely mentioned in standard histories on the subject. The year 1864, indeed, is officially recognized as 'the turning point of the Y.M.C.A.', 'the beginning of certain success.'[3]

[1] W. W. Sweet, 1945, p. 160.
[2] The Revival, 6 August 1860.
[3] Hodder-Williams, pp. 187 and 203.

The 1864 Edinburgh Conference of the Y.M.C.A. laid the foundations of the movement with its liberal provision for the all-round requirements of young men. The leaders raised by the 1859 Revival maintained a proper balance of spiritual and social aims and programmes.

In 1865, Andrew Murray became president of the newly-founded Young Men's Christian Association in Cape Town, the first of many in southern Africa.

The most significant and most fascinating home mission development of the 1858-59 Awakening was the birth of the Salvation Army, as a worldwide movement.

The achievements of the husband-and-wife, William and Catherine Booth, in shared evangelism in the years of the Revival were notable.[1] Booth's experience in Cornwall taught him a connection between holiness of Christian living and power in successful evangelism, for he preached one to gain the other. His experience in the Black Country Awakening taught him that the masses could be most successfully won by their own kind bearing witness. His frustration at the hands of unsympathetic denominational directors must have determined him to shape an organization of his own. He was an interdenominationalist, yet his Wesleyan convictions were strong; so his creation, the Salvation Army, became inter-denominational in the support commanded from all sorts of Christians, yet denominational enough to be reckoned as a convinced Arminian fellowship, more Wesleyan even than the modern Methodists.

Prophetically, in the New Year of 1861,[2] a conference was called in Sussex Hall, Leadenhall Street, in the City of London to consider the appalling need of the slums of the East End, and the Rev. Baptist Noël there predicted that some far-reaching work was about to begin; so the East London Special Services Committee began its modest operations.

Six months later, William Booth visited London friends to seek employment in a Home Mission capacity, and was put into contact with leaders of the East London committee. They invited him to become their evangelist, but four years of

[1] J. Edwin Orr, 1949, pp. 215ff.
[2] Ibid., p. 100.

success in revival ministry elsewhere elapsed before Booth accepted their invitation.[1] Into this opportunity for service, William Booth poured his passion for soul winning and his experience of ministry in the Awakening. The committee became the Christian Revival Association; then the East London Christian Mission; then, as its labours were extended, the Christian Mission, which was finally renamed the Salvation Army.

The Salvation Army thus arose as a lasting extension of the 1858-59 Revival in its double ministry of evangelism and social uplift. Many activities developed by Booth had already been initiated by other workers of the Awakening . . . its evangelism, indoor and outdoor, its mission to fallen women, to criminals, its welfare work, and its missionary enterprise. While the Army bore the indelible stamp of the personalities of William and Catherine Booth, it was cast by them in the mould of the 1858-59 Revival.[2]

The Salvation Army entered South Africa in 1883 and soon adapted itself to local conditions of urban life. Its pioneers entered country after country, becoming a world-wide movement still committed to evangelism and social welfare.

The mid-nineteenth century Revival brought expression to a concern for the evangelization of children, as distinct from their general welfare.

Edward Payson Hammond was born in 1831 in Connecticut,[3] converted about 1848, labouring in the American 1858 Revival before proceeding to Edinburgh to study theology. In 1860, he was asked to preach in Musselburgh. Having left his great-coat in the vestry, he proceeded there but found it locked. A tiny girl opened it, and faltered that 'a wheen o' us lassies' were praying. Hammond overheard a tiny tot offer so moving a prayer that tears sprang to his eyes. His own ideas were revolutionized. He became the children's evangelist.[4] Not long after, Spurgeon filled his Tabernacle with eight thousand children to hear Payson Hammond. Seventeen years later,

[1] R. Sandall, volume i, p. 22.
[2] J. Edwin Orr, 1949, p. 216.
[3] see P. C. Headley's biography of Payson Hammond.
[4] J. Edwin Orr, 1949, p. 232.

Hammond returned to find a number of those child converts serving as Spurgeon's officers and workers.

Payson Hammond's lasting contribution to the religious life of the United States and British countries was his insistent emphasis on child conversion. Hammond used what were then considered novel methods to interest juveniles and stirred T. B. Bishop and Josiah Spiers with the idea of child evangelism. As a result of their application of his principles to their problems came the foundation of the C. S. S. M. (the Children's Special Service Mission), an evangelistic agency whose influence in British church life increased.

A children's evangelist, E. C. Millard, acted as assistant to the Rev. George Grubb when the latter visited Cape Town in 1890, invited by the Anglican Church in South Africa. By using the simple methods practised by Children's Special Service Missioners, he won many youngsters to vital faith.[1]

The Mission, in which George Grubb was associated with two other churchmen of different traditions, began in Saint George's Cathedral in Cape Town, with Bishop West Jones officiating. After suburban parochial efforts, all three of the missioners combined their efforts in the Cathedral.[2]

Unusual blessings attended George Grubb's ministry, the churches overcrowded and many men converted. He enjoyed great liberty in Evangelical Anglican parishes; in Anglo-Catholic churches a happy graciousness won him approval.[3]

It was said that in his concluding address, George Grubb called on the Bishop of Cape Town to give the benediction, but His Lordship declined because he was not wearing the proper vestments.[4] Whereupon the Anglican evangelist, in a deep voice heard throughout the Cathedral, called upon 'his dear friend, the Rev. Andrew Murray, to give the parting blessing,' which non-Anglican intrusion provoked an uproar among some High Churchmen but did not distress enthusiastic followers of Grubb's ministry, whether High Church or Low.

[1] Basil F. Holt, chapter xii.
[2] Church Magazine for South Africa, August 1889.
[3] Addresses delivered by the Rev. G. C. Grubb in Saint George's Cathedral, Cape Town, 1890.
[4] Basil F. Holt, cf. Cape Argus, 19 November 1890.

Chapter XV

The Evangelization of Africa

The Evangelical Awakening of 1858-1859 had an immediate effect upon missionary work in all parts of the world, more particularly in pagan Africa.

In Britain, the Anglo-Catholic section of the Church of England remained antipathetic to the Revival of the 1860s.[1] There was little sympathy either in the predominantly Anglo-Catholic Church of the Province of South Africa.

Anglican missions to the Bantu arose from a plan made by Bishop Gray to appoint bishops and to employ Anglo-Catholic orders to staff missions.[2] The controversial Bishop Colenso also left a successful Zulu Mission[3] which continued to work along evangelical lines.

The Lutherans also supplied a quota of men. As a result of the Revival of 1880 in Norway, the Norwegian Mission Union was formed, later sending its missionaries to South Africa,[4] as did other Scandinavian missions born in revival.

The Presbyterians sent out choice recruits. Christina Forsyth, a convert of the Revival in Scotland, pioneered in Fingoland.[5] To Africa in 1861 came James Stewart, first a companion of Livingstone on the Zambesi, then an explorer of the highlands of Nyasaland where Presbyterians in later years built a great mission, then to the Lovedale Institution in South Africa to become principal.

In 1872, prayer meetings at noonday were commenced at Lovedale,[6] preparing European teachers and Bantu students for a revival that Dr. Stewart called 'the most remarkable in the whole history of Lovedale.' This movement began in 1874 and continued for years, prompting Bantu students to offer themselves for missionary service.

[1] J. Edwin Orr, 1949, pp. 189ff.
[2] C. F. Pascoe, p. 306.
[3] On John William Colenso, see G. W. Cox.
[4] Christianity & the Natives of South Africa, pp. 264ff.
[5] On Christina Forsyth, see W.P.Livingstone.
[6] J. Wells, p. 171.

The work among Bantu was deep and lasting. Missionaries and native pastors experienced a baptism of the Holy Spirit and went everywhere preaching repentance and faith, pardon and purity, to illiterate and semi-literate tribesmen.[1]

Mission stations were transformed from Christianizing 'cities of refuge' under missionary direction into Christian communities. Education received a great impetus as native Christians sought learning for their children. An 'era of education,' so designated by a Methodist historian, Whiteside, followed the great awakening in South Africa. Converts of the 1860s became the forerunners of a native ministry. A third of all the hymns of the Xhosa folk came from the Revival.[2]

The spiritual sons of William Taylor continued in ministry into the twentieth century and the indigenous bands of local preachers arising from the Awakening became the Wesleyan Native Home Mission. Methodism became the greatest force in evangelizing the Bantu in South Africa: more than a third of all Bantu Christians were recognized as the products of Wesleyan missions.[3]

The impact of the Awakening of the 1860s on the Bantu may be illustrated from the life of the Xhosa-speaking evangelist, Charles Pamla. His parents were the products of the stirring of the 1830s, and he was born in 1834 in Butterworth. He attended an Afrikaner school at Bedford and there learned to pray. He was baptized by the same godly Methodist who had baptized his father and mother. In 1861, Pamla enjoyed an experience of the filling of the Spirit, and in 1866 he sold his farm and cattle and engaged in evangelistic work.[4]

[1] see W. C. Holden, on the story of Kama and his tribe, (undated), pp. 24-25.
[2] Basil F. Holt, collected articles, 'Blazing Firebrand,' cf. J. Whiteside's history of Methodism.
[3] The East and the West, volume xi, p. 389, (Gibson), cf. L. A. Hewson's sketch of South African Methodists, p. 74, affirming that the Methodists' African ministry was produced by the 1866 Revival.
[4] Amabalana Ngo Bomi Buka, Rev. Charles Pamla, (G. & N. Pamla). The writer is indebted to Dr. Basil F. Holt, a Xhosa scholar, for notes thereon.

Serving as interpreter with William Taylor set Pamla on a course of evangelistic efficiency, for he was not content to be merely an interpreter but immediately preached in his own way the messages of justification and sanctification by faith. In a couple of days' preaching, he won a hundred and fifty converts![1] His ministry greatly angered the heathen Bantu, who would have beaten him but for his relationship to the Fingo chiefs.

Charles Pamla was a linguist, eloquent in the Afrikaans and English speech, and in Xhosa and Zulu and other Bantu tongues. In Natal, he had opportunity to preach to the Zulus while Taylor ministered to the Europeans. He continued to evangelize after Taylor left for home. The Methodists then appointed him to the Peddie Circuit, where his preaching resulted in the conversion of a chief. Six hundred Bantu folk professed conversion in his first six months at Newtondale.[2]

Pamla was transferred to Basutoland, there ministering until the outbreak of the Basuto War of 1880, which almost cost him his life as an advocate of peace. He returned to Butterworth in the Transkei and ministered the Word with much success. At East London, Pamla's fiery preaching resulted in the conversion of Amaxhosas, Cape Coloured and Europeans. So many Bantu servants of Europeans were detained at the penitent form that angry Europeans complained to the magistrate, who forbade a native drummer to beat the drum to call people to the meetings. When the African police went to arrest whoever was beating the drum, they found a European just converted through Pamla's preaching.[3]

Wherever he ministered, in Queenstown or East London, in Pondoland or Tembuland, it was said that the mantle of William Taylor had fallen on Charles Pamla. Among the Baca on the banks of the Umzimkulu River, Pamla lived in danger of his life because of his challenge to the forces of darkness. Whole kraals of heathen professed conversion. In 1890, Pamla was appointed as superintendent at Tembeni, membership in the area rising from 300 to 5000 in less than twenty years.

[1] W. Taylor, 1877, p. 96.
[2] Ibid., p. 548.
[3] G. & N. Pamla, Xhosa notes translated by Dr. Holt.

European-African contact was greatest in the South African farms. Dutch Reformed Church missions to non-Europeans had begun in 1826, but this outreach remained feeble until the 1860 Revival swept the Afrikaner churches, which at once increased their missionary concern.

As early as September of 1860,[1] a secular newspaper in Dutch carried a leading article that noted the newly-begotten interest in the missions of the Dutch Reformed churches. In Worcester, sixty pounds was presented to the British and Foreign Bible Society, and there also the missionary interest was so great that Alexander McKidd was sponsored as a pioneer missionary to Bantu folk on the far frontiers

Ds. Andrew Murray accompanied McKidd and others in missionary pioneering in the northern Transvaal, a thousand miles northeast of Worcester.[2] Paul Kruger's help was given cheerfully. Before the end of the decade, the Dutch Reformed Church possessed a dozen mission stations, two of them beyond the frontiers of the Cape Colony.[3] Mission work was started also in Botswanaland.

At first the congregations of Bantu converts were attached for oversight to European parishes, but in due course and in keeping with Afrikaner tradition, separate congregations of Bantu-speaking believers were formed into autonomous synods,[4] a development which helped develop African talent which otherwise would have lacked opportunity in competition with more sophisticated associations.

A young Afrikaner, Stefanus Hofmeyr, who had been moved in the 1861 Prince Albert Revival, volunteered to help McKidd in the Zoutpansberg.[5] In 1865, he began labouring among the Buys Volk, descendants of a notorious freebooter, Coenraad Buys, who had settled in the Transvaal half-a-century before with a number of Hottentot and Bantu wives and their many offspring. For about a decade, Hofmeyr laboured among the mixed-bloods and their Bantu neighbours.

[1] Het Volksblad, Cape Town, 15 September 1860.
[2] J. du Plessis, 1919, pp. 201ff.
[3] J. McCarter, p. 42.
[4] J. du Plessis, 1911, pp. 292-293.
[5] On Stefanus Hofmeyr, see J. W. L. Hofmeyr.

Late in 1875,[1] an unusual awakening began in a children's meeting, provoking a week of profound penitence. The movement spread to the adults and affected both half-castes and Bantu, resulting in the conversion of hardened sinners, such as murderers and adulterers. A survivor of the Zoutpansberg Revival (then just a teenager) said:

> The Spirit descended while we were busy praying. All were conscious of the Spirit in our midst. Some cried aloud, others were very afraid and shook out of fear . . . some fainted. Many at that time were converted, even those that wore no clothes. The cattle did not go out to graze for days, for there was no one to take them out.[2]

The awakening continued into its second year and provided native workers for pioneering beyond the Limpopo, north into Rhodesia, out of which rose a great Dutch Reformed mission, Morgenster, an outstanding enterprise.[3]

Within a quarter century, the Dutch Reformed missionaries cared for 20,000 members, 12,000 catechumens and 30,000 children in primary schools, in Cape Colony, the Republics, and beyond.[4] Their work continued to expand.

In 1882, Andrew Murray visited England. At the Keswick Convention he met a younger man, W. Spencer Walton, who had been converted in London, studied his Bible with the Brethren and become associated with the Anglican missioner, Canon Hay Aitken, as a lay evangelist.[5]

Walton had visited South Africa prior to his conversion, so in 1888 he accepted an invitation to campaign in Cape Town. There the Y. M. C. A. Hall became too small, the meetings being adjourned to the Metropolitan Church, thence to the big Exhibition Buildings. Hundreds of people were converted to God and the city was stirred.

[1] S. Hofmeyr, pp. 144ff.
[2] Martha, interview recorded by the Dorothea Mission.
[3] J. du Plessis, 1911, pp. 287ff.
[4] Horton Davies, p. 150; cf. G. B. A. Gerdener's account of Christian Missions in South Africa, pp. 26 & 28, 'by far the most extensive work of any South African Church.'
[5] see E. Weeks, biography of W. Spencer Walton.

The awakening continued in meetings in the country,[1] in Wynberg, Simonstown, Stellenbosch, Wellington, Robertson, Worcester, Towysriver, Grahamstown, and Kimberley. Then Spencer Walton returned to England; but in 1889 he helped with Andrew Murray's backing to form the Cape General Mission. The object of the Mission was to evangelize the European population of South Africa, but the sponsors were so committed to Keswick doctrine and dynamic that they soon set up the South African Keswick Convention in Wellington, and other local conferences, to promote holy living.[2]

Walton and his associates were led to pioneer one of the neediest of Bantu areas in South Africa, Swaziland. It was not long before the Mission had become the interdenominational South Africa General Mission, evangelizing Southern Africa.

Farther north, before and after the 1860 Revival, David Livingstone had been turning the light of exploration and of evangelization upon Central Africa. His was the example, and his also was the challenge often given by tongue and pen.

Prior to the 1859 Revival in Britain, the Universities' Mission to Central Africa was founded as a result of a visit by Livingstone to Cambridge, and it performed excellent service before and after uniting with the S.P.G.[3]

The challenge of Livingstone and the dynamic of the 1859 Revival were responsible for the pioneering of the Mission to Nyasaland by the Free Church of Scotland, which sent to Cape Town its main advocate, James Stewart, in 1861. After a discouraging survey in 1862, little was done until the death of Livingstone, when Stewart and his friends revived their project, a party pushing up the Zambesi to reach Lake Nyasa.[4] The Church of Scotland also entered Nyasaland,[5] the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa following into both Malawi and eastern Zambia (Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia).[6]

[1] Missionary Review of the World, 1905, pp. 363ff.
[2] J. du Plessis, 1919, pp. 384ff.
[3] For an account of the Universities Mission, see G. H. Wilson.
[4] On the Livingstonia Mission, see R. Laws.
[5] A. Hetherwick, pp. 14ff.
[6] C. W. Mackintosh, on Pioneer Missions, p. 33.

Frederick Stanley Arnot was a lad who heard Livingstone speak in times of revival and decided to follow his footsteps.[1] He accomplished a great work as a pioneer missionary of the Brethren, making nine long journeys into the bush during thirty years of endeavour before his death in 1914. He led to Africa yet another pioneering missionary,[2] Dan Crawford 'of the long grass.'

In the Awakenings of the 1860s, revival had occurred more or less among people of European and mixed blood or among Africans in European hinterlands. But the power began to affect native communities outside the colonies. A decade later, shortly after the death of Moshesh, king of the Basuto, a spiritual awakening began at the main station of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, spreading to all of Lesotho.[3]

Using South Africa as a base, missionaries in turn moved north into central and eastern Africa. The Paris Missionary Society directed François Coillard to Barotseland, north of the Zambesi. Coillard, an apostle to Southern Africa, himself was converted in a revival in the Jura in 1851,[4] and in 1887, he developed a mission in Barotseland.[5]

Almost a decade passed before the Paris missionaries reported conversions among these pagans. At Kazungula in 1894, Coillard noted in his diary 'the presence of the Lord made itself felt in our prayer meetings.' When the awakening began, the missionaries could scarcely believe it.[6]

On 4th October, Coillard was overwhelmed by the size of the audience gathered at Lealui. 'The benches, the aisles, even the steps of the platform which serves as our pulpit, all were filled, not an inch to spare.' Paris missionaries almost despaired of being able to shepherd such a flock of inquirers presenting themselves in a body for instruction.

[1] For the Explorations of F. S. Arnot, see E. Baker.
[2] see Dan Crawford's account of twenty-two years without a break in the long grass of Central Africa.
[3] The Lesotho awakening is described in a biography of the Mabilles of Basutoland (E. W. Smith).
[4] C. W. Mackintosh, 1907, p. 3.
[5] Ibid., passim.
[6] F. Coillard, pp. 561ff.

In the Central African lake regions, the Zulu-related Ngoni people had been the terror of their neighbours. Ngoni armies, using the tactics of Chaka and his generals, raided the weaker tribes annually and reduced them to a condition of terror. They wiped out whole clans, devastating vast tracts of country in the process.

Donald Fraser described the Ngoni clans as 'the fighting people' of Central Africa, who had fought and plundered their way through seven hundred miles of inland territory. Either conquering or scattering other tribes, they lived an open life of warfare, without industry. Their social life fell short of civilized standards. Infanticide was practised, twins buried alive, and ordinary domestic tenderness ignored. Husbands were known to have sold their wives to Arab slavers, and uncles to have kidnapped nieces likewise.[1]

William Koyi, a South African Xhosa educated at Lovedale, volunteered in 1876 to serve at the Livingstonia Mission as evangelist. Fearlessly he met an Ngoni war party and persuaded them not only to abandon their raid but to welcome a missionary teacher.[2] The missionaries worked hard to win the Ngoni to the Christian faith, but the progress was slow.

The missionaries worked for years without the backing of a civil power. Within a generation they were able to report that civil turmoil had given way to settled peace.[3] How?

Before the end of the century, awakenings to God had been reported from Livingstonia. Donald Fraser told of such an awakening in Nyasaland in 1897, a mass evangelistic rally during which men wept aloud over sin and backsliding. It was a lasting movement, with continuing results and a comprehensive effect, a holy enthusiasm being shown for God's Word by vast crowds attending. Day schools in the mission field increased from twenty to fifty in three years alone, and pupils from two thousand to seven thousand. This movement was still going on in the next century.[4]

[1] Students and the Modern Missionary Crusade, p. 302 (S.V.M. Convention, address by Donald Fraser).
[2] Missionary Review of the World, 1899, pp. 98ff.
[3] International Review of Missions, 1912, p. 236.
[4] Missionary Review of the World, 1902, pp. 749ff.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century, as South Africans of European stock were preparing for war, there was a movement among them to prepare for the advance of Christianity in the lands of the Bantu folk.

Reports of the remarkable student conference at Mount Hermon in Massachusetts reached South Africa through Dr. Andrew Murray and Miss Ferguson in 1886.[1] In 1890, bands of missionary volunteers were organized at the Stellenbosch Theological Seminary and the Huguenot Seminary, the former contributing more than thirty missionaries, the latter ten.

In 1896, Luther Wishard and Donald Fraser visited South Africa, stirring up missionary interest. In 1898, there arose a band of forty native missionary volunteers at Lovedale.

Robert Moffat before and after 1830 had made contact with the Matabele people who settled in what became Rhodesia. The Matabele were a Zulu regiment which feared the wrath of Chaka and went rampaging southwest on the high veld of South Africa until a clash with the Boers sent them over the river Limpopo. In the 1850s, Moffat again failed with the Matabele.[2]

In 1890, the British flag was raised over the land of the Mashona, who suffered from raids by the Matabele. The British South Africa Company welcomed missionaries into Rhodesia.[3] Anglicans[4] and Methodists[5] were quick to enter. The Dutch Reformed also took advantage of the opportunity and built their great missionary enterprise at Morgenster, near Zimbabwe.[6] The American Methodists likewise entered Rhodesia,[7] as did the Brethren in Christ from Pennsylvania[8]—missionary enterprises made possible by British power.

[1] Student Christian Association of South Africa, 1904 Report of the Worcester Conference, p. 45.
[2] J. S. Moffat, pp. 161ff, 186ff.
[3] J. Richter, p. 485.
[4] E. W. Smith, appendix iv (the White Fields).
[5] Findlay & Holdsworth, volume iv, pp. 378ff.
[6] Jubileum van die Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk Sending in Mashonaland, 1941.
[7] J. W. Springer, pp. 19-53.
[8] On the 'River Brethren' Mission, in South & South Central Africa, see H. F. Davidson.

The redoubtable William Taylor, American revivalist and evangelist, was appointed Bishop for Africa by the American Methodist Episcopal Church, and landed at Loanda in 1885. From Angola, the Methodist work spread across the continent through the Congo to Mozambique.[1] Angola had been entered by British Baptists and the American Board (Congregational), Christian Brethren, and other societies. The American and British missions entered Mozambique more slowly.

In 1877, the British Baptists were challenged to invade the Congo. Unlike their American colleagues, who concentrated upon the lower Congo, the British Baptists pressed inland. The cause in the Congo was greatly aided by the arrival of George Grenfell, whose 'earliest impressions of a serious kind' dated back to the early 1860s 'when the great wave of awakening which followed the Revival of 1859 was passing over the country.' Grenfell became the greatest of the Congo Baptist pioneers and an able mission director.[2]

The revivalist, H. Grattan Guinness, launched a work in the Congo in the 1870s, known as the Livingstone Inland Mission,[3] a title which suggested two of Guinness's heroes, Hudson Taylor and David Livingstone—at a time when there was talk of naming the Congo the Livingstone River.

In 1878, the Livingstone Inland Mission proposed a chain of stations from Matadi to Stanley Pool. The Guinness party established stations in the neighbourhood of Matadi.[4] A very enthusiastic worker there was Adam McCall, an experienced hunter who had roamed South Africa, another Henry Richards who commenced a quiet ministry on the banks of the Congo. For six years, Richards saw no results. Illness afflicted him, driving him to seek God in a new way, after which he began to preach the Good News with power, resulting in astonishing response and transformation of the Congolese.[5]

[1] J. H. Springer, p. 19.
[2] For a life of George Grenfell, see G. Hawker.
[3] Mrs. H. G. Guinness, pp. 175ff.
[4] Baptist Missionary Magazine, 1887, cf. J. du Plessis, 1930, pp. 211-212.
[5] Missionary Review of the World, 1900, pp. 817ff; cf. Baptist Missionary Magazine, 1887, p. 70.

The son of a local chief professed conversion, after which a great movement got under way. As Lukongo carriers on the riverside, passing up and down, saw the people throwing away their idols and turning to God, they were amazed that no ill befell the converts, that the heavens did not fall or the earth swallow them up.

By 1887, more than a thousand converts had been added to the churches. Richards himself organized two services daily. In 1889, no less than 950 were baptized, the Banza Manteke church boasting fifteen hundred members.[1] Converts went out as evangelists to the villages round about pleading with the people to turn from wooden and rag idols to God.[2]

Henry Richards thus witnessed a movement of awakening among his Bantu constituents at Banza Manteke, the first 'Pentecost on the Congo.' Two thousand were baptized during the awakening. In other stations, similar awakenings occurred in turn. It was an auspicious beginning.[3]

By the end of the century, Banza Manteke missionaries had nearly three thousand pupils in sixty schools. Hundreds were still being baptized each year and added to the fellowship. Grattan Guinness transferred the promising field to zealous American Baptists, under whom the awakenings continued. It was reported:

> We are in the midst of a great spiritual revival upon the field which equals the Banza Manteke Pentecost in intensity and surpasses it in extent . . .[4]

In 1885, A. B. Simpson, convert of the 1858 Awakening in Canada and founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, sent his missionaries to the Congo and began a great work.[5] Henry Grattan Guinness sent out in the 1880s another mission, the Congo Balolo enterprise . . . later part of the Regions Beyond Missionary Union, a worldwide organization.

[1] Missionary Review of the World, 1900, pp. 817ff cf. Baptist Missionary Magazine, 1887, p. 70.
[2] Missionary Review of the World, 1901, pp. 40ff.
[3] Ibid., 1902, p. 796.
[4] J. du Plessis, 1930, pp. 211ff.
[5] On the first Alliance Mission (the Congo) see Macaw. Mrs. H. G. Guinness, pp. 461ff.

The Swedish Mission Covenant, a product of the Awakening in Sweden, commenced its Congo operations in the 1880s.[1] The American Presbyterian Mission shared the Equatorial African or northern Congo fields with the Paris Evangelical Mission. American Presbyterians also entered Cameroons.[2]

In the Cameroons, a Baptist mission begun in 1848 and extended by George Grenfell, was transferred to the Basel Mission when the Germans raised their flag in 1887. A mass movement of Bantu towards the Christian faith soon followed, building up in a quarter of a century a church membership of fifteen thousand.[3]

Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, missions of various kinds, denomiational and otherwise, spread throughout the Congo and lands nearby. The Africa Inland Mission was begun in 1895 by Peter C. Scott who revived Krapf's dream of planting a chain of mission stations across Africa, beginning in the Congo, Kenya and Tanganyika, and concentrating on the East African missionfields.[4]

In 1886, the Evangelical Missionary Society for East Africa was formed in Berlin. Its main sponsor was Pastor Friedrich von Bodelschwingh of the Inner Mission at Bielefeld, a leader in the German Evangelical Awakening. It soon moved across the newly acquired German territories, sharing opportunities with older German groups in East Africa.[5]

In 1862, the explorer Speke declared that the kingdoms of Uganda were by far the most attractive in all of Africa to missionary enterprise.[6] Stanley was of the same opinion and his challenge stirred the Church Missionary Society to enter Uganda, a task by no means easy.[7]

Alexander Mackay, a convert of the Revival of the 1860s in Britain, and a party of pioneers arrived in Zanzibar in

[1] see J. E. Lundahl's biography of Nils Westlind.
[2] A. J. Brown, p. 217.
[3] see P. Steiner, on the Cameroons (in German).
[4] J. du Plessis, 1930, pp. 329ff.
[5] J. Richter, p. 485.
[6] see the explorer J. H. Speke's account of what led to the discovery of the source of the Nile, p. 366.
[7] Daily Telegraph, London, 15 November 1875.

1876, but only two of them established themselves in Uganda, two dying of fever and two being murdered.[1] The entrance of a militant Roman Catholic mission added to their troubles, which increased when the friendly king Mtesa died and was succeeded by a vicious son Mwanga. Mwanga was responsible for the murder of James Hannington, Anglican bishop, in 1885. Converts of the Christian missions refused to submit to Mwanga's practice of sodomy. So the Kabaka roasted three martyrs slowly to death, and burned alive thirty-two young men in one funeral pyre. Perhaps two hundred martyrs died in the fire and another bishop perished through fever.[2]

Yet the mission gained a foothold. In 1888, the Baganda themselves overthrew Mwanga, but the Muslims counter-revolted and drove out all the missionaries and dispersed the Christians. Civil war ensued, until the very men who had been so persecuted by Mwanga replaced him on his throne till in 1890 the area passed under British control, a Uganda protectorate being established in 1894.[3]

Alfred Tucker was appointed bishop in 1890,[4] the year that Alexander Mackay succumbed, but the mission was still precarious until 1893 when a strange chain of circumstances changed the whole situation.

A Baganda reader, Musa, announced his firm intention of apostasizing to heathenism, and this so discouraged the local missionaries that one, George Pilkington, sought mental and spiritual recovery on an island in Lake Victoria.[5]

Far away in South India, a Tamil Christian had found the secret of the victorious Christian life, becoming a successful revivalist who won many thousands to Christ in Tamilnad and Kerala.[6] He penned a tract on the work of the Holy Spirit,[7]

[1] E. Stock, volume iii, pp. 98-102.
[2] Ibid., pp. 410-412.
[3] Ibid., pp. 441-448.
[4] see A. W. Tucker, autobiography.
[5] Pilkington's biography (Harford Battersby) ch. xii.
[6] N. C. Sargant, pp. 74ff.
[7] see Y. Samuel's biography of Tamil David. It is known in Tamil circles that a cloud shadowed Tamil David's later ministry, even though he repented.

a tract which found its way to Pilkington on a tiny island in a lake in East Africa. The message transformed Pilkington's life and ministry. He returned to his labours a changed man, and like Tamil David, saw the message provoke a great awakening, with hundreds of conversions and revival in churches.

Roscoe, a colleague of Pilkington, described the outbreak of the revival at Mengo after the return of Pilkington from the island of Komê:

> We are in the midst of a great spiritual revival . . . after the morning service fully two hundred stayed behind to be spoken with.[1]

The awakening spread throughout Uganda. In fifteen years,[2] the number of native lay teachers increased from 75 to 2032, communicants from 230 to 18,041, baptized Christians from 1140 to 62,716, and catechumens from 230 to 2563.[3]

George Pilkington lost his life in a Sudanese uprising in 1897. Baganda Christians became ardent native evangelists, reaching tribes around them and adding to evangelical growth in East Africa.

About the same time as the Uganda Revival, a spiritual awakening was reported from Jilore, north of Mombasa.[4] The Anglican missionary reported an hour of preaching followed by a three hours 'endless song of praise.' In 1894, the Church Missionary Society reported from Jilore:

> a season of revival a year and a half ago produced permanent effects in the spiritual earnestness of the converts.[5]

In the 1880s, the Church Missionary Society had extended a work into Kenya, and in 1891 the Church of Scotland missions among the Kikuyu developed into a considerable enterprise. Kenyan endeavours fell short of the success in Uganda.

[1] Proceedings, Church Missionary Society, 1894, p. 59.
[2] cf. Statistics of the Uganda Mission, 1892 and 1907, in the Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society.
[3] Prof. J. du Plessis has supplied (without sources) somewhat larger figures, not subtracting the details of C.M.S. gains in other parts of East Africa.
[4] Proceedings, Church Missionary Society, 1893, p. 41.
[5] Ibid., 1894, p. 9.

Thus, fulfilling the dream of missionary pioneers, from the Cameroons across the width of continental Africa to Kenya, the chain of mission stations had become a reality. South of that line were the great majority of Bantu folk, among whom Christianity was becoming the major religious force, making sure that the teachings of Christ, not the creed of Islam, should prevail among the Bantu.

How was this battle won? and with what dynamic? Not only were many of the societies that had pioneered Central and Southern Africa the direct products of the Evangelical Revival in the homelands, not only were many of the pioneers either converted or called in these revivals, but in so many cases the greatest expansion of the faith among the Bantu folk came through the outbreak of just such evangelical awakenings on the mission field.

Bantu Africa, by the extension of missions as well as of colonial rule, thus inherited the benefits and blessings for generations accumulated in the West, but only in South Africa was there built up a viable European nation, a veritable beachhead of European civilization, destined to develop into the industrial giant of the continent.

Chapter XVI

The Crucible of War

Britain began to expand to the north through Griqualand West, the mineral wealth discovered at Kimberley and at Johannesburg hastening the expansion. Cecil Rhodes was an engineer of the expansion.

But Rhodes, unlike many of his rivals, was not working for wealth alone. He was an unusual imperialist, one with a profound faith in the destiny of the English-speaking peoples, even declaring himself willing to see the British Empire (then at the peak of its power) join the United States under the Stars and Stripes if only the reunion of all the English-speaking peoples could thus be achieved.[1] He therefore arranged that the charter of his diamond company should authorize the use of funds for expansion northwards.

Rhodes recognized that the narrow neck of land north of Kimberley, west of the Transvaal and east of the German sphere, was the corridor of destiny.[2] With the money that diamonds had brought him, he secured the corridor and persuaded the local chiefs to accept British protection. An expedition was sent to Botswanaland in 1884, and the following year a railway was opened to Kimberley and the territory of British Bechuanaland whose northern frontier was the Molopo river.

In 1888, Rhodes formed a British South Africa Company and two years later, Mashonaland was occupied by British troops.[3] By 1893, the warlike Matabele impis had been defeated, and their king Lobengula driven into hiding. In 1894, Buluwayo was founded as the chief town of Matabeleland, just as Salisbury had been founded in 1890 as the capital of Mashonaland. In less than fifteen years, Rhodes had added eight hundred thousand square miles to the dominions of Queen Victoria.

[1] W. T. Stead, p. 102.
[2] Sir Lewis Mitchell, volume i, p. 157.
[3] see Reports of the British South Africa Company, for the years 1889-1892.

Rhodes's great opponent was Kruger, the dour, honest and energetic President of the Transvaal.[1] Great movements were symbolized by these two giants. Paul Kruger stood for an expanding Afrikanerdom, to be republican, uniting the Dutch-speaking majorities in the republics and colonies into a South African United States outside the old British Empire. Cecil Rhodes desired to see the republics and colonies of South Africa united in a federal union within the British system, but giving equal rights to British and Afrikaner and complete autonomy.[2] Rhodes did more than anyone else to wreck his plans by the disastrous Jameson Raid.

Yet, within eight years of the death of Cecil Rhodes, South Africa was a united country, self-governing, equally English and Afrikaans. And Groote Schuur, nestling against Table Mountain, which Rhodes left in his will as a home for future Prime Ministers of a united South Africa, was occupied for a generation or more solely by Kruger's Generals Botha, Smuts and Hertzog.

In the late nineteenth century, there was still much interchange between the British colonies and Boer republics, in every way. The attitude of the Cape politicians and British statesmen towards the Boer States is expressed in a letter from Sir Henry Barkly, Governor of the Cape in 1870, to Lord Carnarvon:[3]

> The position of these petty republics is most anomalous. President Brand of the Free State is still a member of the Cape Bar and might be recommended to me for Chief Justice. His father is speaker of the Cape Assembly, his wife is an Englishwoman and his eldest son is now studying at Middle Temple, and yet he can declare war upon me tomorrow.

[1] On Paul Kruger, see Manfred Nathan's biography, cf. the autobiography of S. J. P. Kruger, 1902.
[2] see Basil Williams's biography of Cecil Rhodes, p. 245, cf. Report of the British South Africa Company Annual Meeting, January 1895, pp. 19ff.
[3] Lord Carnarvon, architect of Canadian Confederation, cf. British South Africa Company Annual Meeting, January 1895.

Meanwhile in 1886, gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand, on the high veld in the southern Transvaal, and fortune hunters poured in from all over the world.[1] When the size of the great Reef was just a little realized, the influx of diggers grew. From being an isolated farmhouse on the bare veld, the settlement grew into Johannesburg, the largest city in Africa south of Cairo.

It was gold that upset the political equilibrium of South Africa. Before Johannesburg, it seemed as if the Boers in their republics were safe from internal and external change. The Transvaal was independent, populated by hardy Dutch farmers. But the new settlers on the Rand were English, Scots, Irish, Australian, American, and German and the like, and as fortune-seekers they were scarcely a godly company of people.[2]

The control of the Transvaal was threatened, for these Uitlanders (foreigners) outnumbered the Boers four to one.[3] Seven-eighths English-speaking, paying nineteen-twentieths of the public revenue and owning half of the land, the complaint of the Uitlanders was that they were not permitted to vote. Or so it was said.

Baron Henry de Villiers, an outstanding Cape Colony judge, expressed the view that the great majority of the Uitlanders did not 'care a fig' for the franchise. But others yelled that the Boer masters of the Republic were oppressing them to maintain an Afrikaner hegemony.[4] Thousands memorialized the Queen, who still exercised a very shadowy suzerainty over the South African Republic.

In 1895, Cecil Rhodes became impatient and took too strong a hand in the game. He felt that the disgruntled majority in Johannesburg should be given some encouragement to revolt against Paul Kruger and the Boers, and that after the coup-

1 C.W.de Kiewiet, 1937, p. 20.
2 On the Uitlanders, see R. Crisp's study.
3 G. Millin, p. 90.
4 Laws number 14 of 1893 and number 3 of 1894 antagonized the Uitlanders, who thereby could not qualify for the vote until forty years of age and until after fourteen years of residence.

d'état a pro-union group would vote for federal union of all South Africa and live happily ever afterwards, just as Dutch and English were doing in the Cape Colony. The end would justify the means. He therefore plotted with his trusted lieutenant, Dr. Starr Jameson, up in Rhodesia, and with the rebels of Johannesburg. So the ill-fated Jameson Raid began from Mafeking, and misfired through bad timing. The rebels of Johannesburg did not rise, and after a fight the Boers in commando rounded up the raiders.[1]

Nearly everyone condemned Cecil Rhodes, who resigned his seat as Prime Minister in the provincial legislature of the Cape Colony. It was a sore set-back.

The failure of the Raid engendered a bitter determination of the Boers to fight for their independence; and a counter-determination to unite South Africa forcibly became evident in British circles. Efforts were made at compromise, and an eleventh-hour conference was held at Bloemfontein between President Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner, the Governor of the Cape. It proved unavailing. The Boers bought cannon and guns from the Germans, while the British reinforced the colonial garrisons.

The Republics declared war on 11th October 1899, and invaded Natal and the Cape Colony with fast-moving commandos which laid siege to Ladysmith and Kimberley.[2] The first battles were in favour of the Boers, and everywhere British forces were put upon the defensive.[3]

From the start of the Anglo-Boer War, the British and Foreign Bible Society distributed hundreds of thousands of Testaments and Gospels to soldiers and supporting civilians on both sides the battle.[4] During the first year of the war, 31,505 portions of Scripture were distributed to both British soldiers and Boer commandos in the theatres of operations.

1 On the Jameson Raid, see E. Pakenham, 1960; cf. N. J. Hofmeyr, 1896.
2 For a history of the War in South Africa, 1899-1902, see L. S. Amery.
3 cf. German General Staff Account of the War in South Africa, 1899-1902.
4 W. Canton, volume v, pp. 294-295.

A large consignment was shipped via Lourenço Marques, forwarded through the good offices of the Consul of the United States of America to Pretoria.

Overwhelming British armies were mobilized, and in 1900 General Piet Cronje was outnumbered and forced to surrender at Pardekraal. Occupation of Bloemfontein, Johannesburg and Pretoria followed, and a broken-hearted Paul Kruger fled to the Netherlands.[1]

Strategists thought that the struggle was over. Instead, the commandos switched to guerrilla warfare with aggravating hit-and-run raids that prevented the British from consolidating their victories. The Boer commandos were able to live off the field, receiving substantial support from the scattered farms.[2]

It was decided to evacuate the women and children from the farmhouses in the theatre of operations, burn down the farmhouses to deny the commandos sustenance and shelter, and to concentrate all the evacuated women and children in camps. It was not a very successful plan, even considered from a military point of view, for it relieved the Boer combatants of the burden of providing for their dependents, and it left them freer to carry on their hit-and-run warfare, for despite their fiery feelings, none believed that the British would carry on attrition against helpless womenfolk.

But, while ill-treatment of prisoners was not common, disease swept the camps and thousands of innocents perished in epidemics, provoking a bitterness of heart in South Africa that several generations could not forget.[3]

On 31st May, 1902, the Peace of Vereeniging was signed. It brought to an end the last of the wars of chivalry, if wars can thus be described. When Rudyard Kipling, the poet of imperialism, was editor of the daily newspaper in occupied Bloemfontein, news arrived of the death of General Piet Joubert, Boer commander in the field. Kipling put pen to paper in predicting the future of a nation:

[1] SEE G. D. Scholtz, on the Anglo-Boer War, 1960.
[2] C.R. de Wet, on operations 1899-1902.
[3] cf. A.C.Martin, on the Concentration Camps, & J. C. Otto, on the same subject in Afrikaans.

Later shall rise a people,
Sane and great,
Forged in strong fires,
By equal war made one,
Telling old battles
over without hate:
Not least his name
Shall pass from sire to son.[1]

Meanwhile, thousands of Boer prisoners of war languished in camps as far away as Bermuda in the Atlantic and Ceylon in the Indian Ocean. And of the many thousands of women and children concentrated in civilian camps, a sorry number, alas, left their bones in makeshift graves. A proud people had been worsted, and the victors with uneasiness offered the palm of peace. The country lapsed into an economic depression which followed the wartime boom.

It took more than chivalry in war, magnanimity in peace, reasonableness in parliament and wisdom in statemanship to weld South Africa together again. The worst wounds were not physical or economic or political, but spiritual. Neither legislation nor investment could provide the cure for a rent community. A spiritual renewal was needed.

Constitutions had been given to the defeated republics by 1906. In 1907, Mr. F. S. Malan offered a resolution in the Cape Assembly to promote a Union of South Africa. In 1908, a conference was called in Pretoria, and there General Jan C. Smuts moved a resolution for a National Convention that first met in Durban in October 1908, continuing its sessions into 1909 in Cape Town and Bloemfontein. Natal confirmed its acceptance of Union by referendum.[2]

The Union of South Africa became a fact in 1910, with General Louis Botha as premier. A comrade-in-arms, Jan Christiaan Smuts,[3] declared that even more remarkable than the Constitution giving a united South Africa to the united South Africans 'were the signatures at the end of it' including

[1] quoted in A. W. Wells, p. 220.
[2] For an inner History of the National Convention of South Africa, see Sir E. H. Walton.
[3] R. H. Brand, p. 7.

Dr. Jameson who had invaded the Transvaal, and General Botha who had demanded the execution of Jameson as a free-booter. These were signs of hope.

On the surface, the draft of the Constitution of the Union of South Africa was rather like those of the United States of America, Canada, and Australia. But deeper down, it was very unlike them, for it was not a federation in the strict sense of the word. The chief essentials of American federalism are obviously the supremacy of the Constitution, the distribution of governing powers among other limited and coordinate bodies, and the right of the courts to act as the interpreters of the constitution.

In South Africa, the Constitution of the Union was a unitary one, not federal. It is Parliament and not the Constitution that is supreme. The governing powers cannot be distributed among bodies of limited and coordinate authority, and the courts do not act as the interpreters of the Constitution. The Constitution is not sacred, for Parliament by ordinary acts of legislation could amend it, and did.

English and Dutch were recognized as equal official languages, until 1925, when Afrikaans superseded 'High' Dutch, Afrikaans being the popular language of South Africans of Netherlands descent, being a simpler and more volatile form of the mother language of Holland with English, Hottentot and Bantu loan-words added.

Thus, within a century of the cession of the Cape to Great Britain, a bi-lingual, European nation emerged. Many were the forces hindering Union but Evangelical Christianity was not one of them. Indeed, Evangelical Revival promoted a better understanding between the two major segments of the nation, and contributed a sense of mission to the dissimilar Bantu peoples within and without their borders.

Chapter XVII

The Mission of Peace

Prayer meetings were held in the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago and elsewhere at the turn of the twentieth century for another awakening all over the world in the new era. Traceable to this intercession were the world-girdling series of evangelistic campaigns of Torrey and Alexander and of Chapman and Alexander, who succeeded D. L. Moody in mass evangelism, as well as a series of phenomenal awakenings, including the Welsh Revival of 1904-1905.

War was raging on one corner alone of the world at that time, in South Africa. The extreme measures taken by the British Army to break the Boer resistance and bring the war to a merciful close brought more bitterness to the out-fought Boers than did the actual fighting in 'the last war of gentlemen,' for thousands of women and children died in epidemics in civilian relocation camps.

Yet out of tragedy came lasting good from these relocation camps.[1] Both Afrikaans and English-speaking ministers of the Gospel served heroically the tens of thousands of non-combatants held by force in widely scattered camps.[2] Thousands of civilian inmates attended daily services and deep and lasting revivals of religion resulted in thousands professing conversion.[3]

There was much sympathy in America and Europe for the defeated Boer people and prayers were offered for their spiritual recovery. While the countryside of the High Veld was being pacified, the captured commandos were still being shipped from South Africa to the islands of St. Helena and

[1] De Kerkbode, 1901, pp. 315 & 510; cf. letter of Ds. W. Robertson, 2 July 1901, p. 398.

[2] Diary of the Rev. William Meara, in Cory Library, lists 173 Boer women and children that he buried in a single month at Barberton camp.

[3] Louis Hofmeyr, in a letter to the Christian Student, April 1902, Cape Town; cf. Missionary Review of the World, 1903, pp. 616ff.

Bermuda in the Atlantic and to military posts in Ceylon and India, where they were confined in prisoner-of-war camps.[1]

British and Foreign Bible Society workers made a point of contacting the contingents of prisoners-of-war at their ports of embarkation, Durban for the Indian Ocean sailings and Cape Town for the South Atlantic.[2] They distributed New Testaments in Dutch to the saddened soldiers of the Boer republics, forced to leave their beloved country for the first time, a new experience for land-loving men.

At Cape Town, a Bible Society agent (Nuttall) stood and addressed the prisoners-of-war by means of an interpreter, offering them the gift of the Scriptures in their accustomed language, 'that God's Word may comfort and counsel you in this hour of need,' and he reported that 'both they and I wept together.' An old farmer arose, with tears in his eyes, to thank the Bible Society.

With these prisoners-of-war went ministers of Reformed Churches of the Transvaal and Orange Free State and Cape Colony,[3] sharing their imprisonment and ministering with the goodwill of the British military authorities.

On the island of Bermuda, where Ds. J. A. van Blerk and Ds. J. R. Albertyn ministered, there came a stirring revival of religion.[4] And on the island of St. Helena, Ds. A. F. Louw preached powerfully to discouraged men, and witnessed a response that brought many conversions.[5]

Among the prisoners-of-war on St. Helena were two young Student Volunteers, already prisoners for two years.[6] They deplored the past neglect of pagan Africa within easy reach of enlightened South Africans, and affirmed their conviction that Afrikaner missionaries were needed to work in the Bantu territories to the north. Thereafter a rising interest in such missions was reported among the non-student majority of the prisoners-of-war.

[1] De Kerkbode, 1901, indexed references.
[2] W. Canton, volume iii, pp. 294-295.
[3] De Kerkbode, 1901-1902, passim.
[4] De Kerkbode, 1901, pp. 501, 526, 612 and 623ff.
[5] Ibid., 1901, pp. 35, 84, 329, 386ff.
[6] Christian Student, Cape Town, September 1901.

Ds. Louw led 6.30 a.m. prayer meetings daily attended by a hundred prisoners, as many as thirty of whom took part in prayer! Once the main body of the prisoners had been stirred, the range of their intercession included faraway parts of the African continent, as well as India and Ceylon, where their comrades were confined.

The awakenings on Bermuda and St. Helena continued without let-up until the cessation of hostilities in 1902. Burghers in the prison camps had to face a problem of conscience as the price of repatriation, that of taking the oath of allegiance to the British King, Edward VII. A majority of them, whose parents or forbears had been British subjects at one time or another, signed.[2] Ships brought the hopeful men home.

Ds. D. J. Viljoen[3] was shipped with prisoners-of-war to India in 1901, holding shipboard services for an interested group daily.[4] The prisoners were sent to Fort Ahmednagar in the Maratha country, where a thousand men were detained behind thick walls and barbed wire.[5]

Ds. Viljoen commenced worship services, at first enlisting prisoners with experience of lay ministry and using them for visitation, prayer meetings, catechism and church services, but not for the sacraments. Classes and young folk's meetings were also organized.[6]

A small group of deeply spiritual men came together daily in prayer. Their minister sent them among the indifferent prisoners in the camp, where sometimes their witnessing was resented. Ds. Viljoen and his helpers concentrated on evangelism. In spite of poor attendances at first, the results were encouraging, and within a few weeks, he was busy in daily services. There was a genuine revival among Christian soldiers, and there were many conversions of those who had been strangers to God's grace.[7] A great awakening ensued.

[1] Ibid., March 1902. [2] Recollections of A.J.A. Rowland, who sailed with repatriated prisoners.
[3] De Kerkbode, 11 April 1901, p. 221.
[4] Ibid., 4 July 1901, p. 388.
[5] Ibid., 13 June 1901, p. 345.
[6] Ibid., 22 August 1901, p. 478.
[7] Ibid., 19 September 1901, p. 536.

Fort Ahmednagar became a place of praise and prayer, singing sweeping the camp in daytime and the voice of prayer muting the murmurs of the night.[1] The Christians were impressed by the need of the Hindus around them, and eighteen of them became missionaries to African tribesmen on their release. The awakening continued in camp till war's end.

It is of interest that within four years many of the Indian communities round about for whom they prayed experienced a startling revival. A godly Indian educator, Pandita Ramabai, became interested at this time in revival, and in June 1905 a strange but powerful movement began at the Mukti schools in Kedgaon,[2] with the same startling phenomena witnessed by Ds. Andrew Murray at Worcester in 1860. Extraordinary awakenings occurred in churches and schools in Ahmednagar, Poona, Aurangabad, and Bombay, until all the missions in the Maratha country felt an impact.[3]

Ds. A. P. Burger, minister of Middelburg in the Transvaal, was taken prisoner in February 1902 and sent with two thousand others to a prison camp at Shahjahanpur, North West Province.[4] He began regular worship services and taught school classes every day. The pattern of revival was repeated. At night, neighbouring Moslems and Hindus listened to the hearty singing of five hundred or more newly-revived prisoners-of-war. There were similar reports from Boer chaplains in Sialkot.[5]

There were many candidates for missionary service in the Indian camps. A prisoner-of-war, when lying wounded and bleeding in the field of battle, reproached himself that he was willing to do so much for his country and so little for missions. He volunteered at the Ahmednagar camp,[6] as did so many others in similar establishments.

[1] Ibid., 14 November 1901, p. 622.
[2] Missionary Review of the World, 1906, p. 552.
[3] Ibid., 1906, p. 169; cf. Dr. Nicol Macnicol's biography of Pandita Ramabai, p. 118, & H. S. Dyer's account of the Revival in India.
[4] De Kerkbode, 24 April 1902, p. 182.
[5] Ibid., 1902, pp. 41, 377, & 385ff.
[6] Christian Student, March 1903.

In Ceylon, there were five thousand Afrikaner prisoners-of-war at Diatalawa under close guard.[1] The prisoners suffered from boredom and from sickness, a typhoid epidemic killing many. Afrikaner prisoner-chaplains held services and helped the distressed. A little prayer group of men grew into hundreds and then into thousands. The result was the conversion of hundreds and the creation of a missionary burden.[2]

One prisoner-of-war was converted to God after some five months under the ministry of Ds. George Murray.[3] He prayed daily for guidance regarding his life after the war, and as an answer received the words: 'As the Father hath sent me, so send I you!' To which he replied, 'Here am I, send me.'

In Portugal, internees from the Transvaal border were held in camp, and again awakenings were experienced.[4] It was the same in civilian camps within South Africa, where women, children and old men were held. By May 1901, these civilian camps were catering for totals of 19,680 Europeans and 18,079 Africans.[5] A letter from the veteran Ds. William Robertson reported 4419 in Aliwal North, 4722 in Bloemfontein, 1441 in Brandfort, 3456 in Bethulie, 2077 in Heilbron, 3788 in Kroonstad, 2070 in Kimberley, 2678 in Norvals Poort, 2711 in Springfontein and 4320 in smaller camps.[6] In all of these was maintained a vigorous spiritual ministry.

After two and a half years of fighting, peace came again to South Africa. It was greeted with mixed emotions. Most English-speaking South Africans respected their Afrikaner opponents too much as soldiers and citizens to engage in any cheap gloating over the victory by overwhelming forces. And peace was welcomed by the Afrikaans-speaking folk, long convinced of the impossibility of victory over the British Empire but saddened by defeat and bitter over the deaths of the women and children in the relocation camps.

[1] De Kerkbode, 1901, pp. 46, 54, 85, 147, 254, 465 & 573ff.
[2] Ibid., 1902, pp. 445, 449.
[3] Christian Student, March 1903.
[4] De Kerkbode, 26 May 1902.
[5] Ibid., 1901, pp. 315, 475, & 510.
[6] Letter of Ds. W. Robertson, 11 July 1901, published in De Kerkbode, 1901, p. 398.

Shortly after the cessation of hostilities, the editor of the organ of Lovedale, Dr. James Stewart, asked significantly:

> What can the Church militant do to heal the sore between two brave peoples and to bring this land within e Kingdom of the King of Kings? A revival of true spiritual religion reaching Boer and Briton alike, would do more towards raising the standard of national righteousness than can be readily imagined.[1]

The hunger for spiritual awakening in all of South Africa was manifest among the Afrikaans-speaking people also. As early as 1903, Dutch Reformed leaders, writing in a missions journal,[2] were reporting signs of revival communicated to the churches from the camps. From every side came word of renewed spiritual life during the annual Pentecost week of meetings in 1903, a year of economic depression.

Already, the 'revival of religion' among the prisoners-of-war and internees and refugees was beginning to be felt in the home churches. A rising tide of spiritual interest was reported throughout 1903, a typical account referring to the excellent attendances at meetings for prayer and worship,[3] and an increased earnestness concerning spiritual matters. Ds. C. V. Nel, for example, held a ten days' campaign at Riebeek West under the auspices of the Students Christian Association and reported 'showers of blessing' during which more than one hundred past and present students had 'given themselves to the Lord.'

The little book on the power of prayer which had been circulated in South Africa in High Dutch before the outbreak of Revival in 1860,[4] was re-issued in 1904 and this was followed by a call to prayer signed by the leaders,[5] J. R. Albertyn, G. F. Marais, A. F. Louw and H. P. van der Merwe. Letters and articles on Revival appeared in both the Afrikaner and English language religious journals.[6]

[1] Christian Express, 1 June 1902, p. 81.
[2] De Koningsbode, July 1903, 'De Opwekking.'
[3] Christian Student, Cape Town, November 1903.
[4] De Koningsbode, February 1904, p. 184.
[5] Ibid., June 1904, cf. De Kerkbode, 1904, pp. 161-2.
[6] De Kerkbode, 1904, pp. 191ff, & later issues.

In 1902, an earlier attempted rapprochement between the Church of Scotland and the Dutch Reformed Churches had been politely rebuffed.[1] Spencer Walton, beloved by Briton, Boer and Bantu in South Africa, commented upon postwar conditions in South Africa, admitting that racial hatred between the two European communities was very bitter and that the country as a whole was in a deplorable condition.[2]

In 1904, a deputation of Scottish Presbyterian leaders set foot in South Africa and were well-received by the Dutch Reformed ministers and people.[3] It was a wise and choice expression of brotherhood, for the Dutch Reformed Church still cherished gratitude to Scotland for evangelical blood-transfusions of the past, while evangelical Calvinism was common to both.

Keswick also provided a link between British Evangelicals and Afrikaans-speaking brethren.[4] Mr. Albert Head exercised a ministry of sincere reconciliation at the Wellington Convention, and later Dr. F. B. Meyer[5] came out to South Africa 'to Boers and Britons . . . to bind the two peoples closer together through the Gospel.'

Within five years, there was such a great improvement in British-Boer relations that a Union of South Africa was proposed to unite the warring republics and colonies in a single self-governing national entity. While there were many political and economic factors in this development, not least was the vast improvement in the spiritual relations between Dutch Reformed and English-speaking Churches.

There were two main factors in the spiritual uplift, first the success of the Mission of Peace to South Africa by a British evangelist in 1904, and second, the stirring of extraordinary revival in Afrikaans and English-speaking churches by the news of the Revival in Wales and elsewhere.[6]

[1] Christian Express, 1 November 1902.
[2] Missionary Review of the World, 1904, p. 271.
[3] Ibid., p. 557.
[4] De Kerkbode, 1906, p. 270.
[5] Missionary Review of the World, 1908, p. 471.
[6] cf. De Kerkbode, 1905, pp. 35, 46ff; & Methodist Churchman, 11 January & 8 March 1905; & Christian Express, 1 July 1905, p. 107.

> The hearts of the people have been turned to God in earnest prayer for a revival of religion . . . from Cape Town to the Limpopo . . . a line of earnest prayer with deepening intensity for a quickening of spiritual life and the conversion of sinners.[1]

A converted gipsy, Rodney Smith, had made quite a name for himself in popular evangelism in the English-speaking world. His graciousness reflected his Master. Born in 1860, converted in 1876 in his native England, he served for some time in the Salvation Army before entering upon a worldwide evangelistic ministry.[2]

Gipsy Smith had been invited to South Africa before the outbreak of the 1899 Anglo-Boer War.[3] He arrived in Cape Town in April 1904, but was coldly received by the Dutch Reformed people. His sponsors in the English-speaking Churches found difficulty in locating a suitable building.[4] The only likely auditorium in Cape Town was the Groote Kerk of the Dutch Reformed Church, and that was definitely refused the local committee, such was the state of feeling before the Mission.

But after Professor Nicholas Hofmeyr of the Stellenbosch Seminary called upon Gipsy Smith and invited him to address the students, there came a change of attitude. At first, a cold and critical indifference was shown, but the warmth of his personality soon disarmed the critics.[5]

A deserted corrugated-iron building, Fillis's Circus, was seated for three thousand and packed out from the beginning.[6] Gipsy Smith was noted for the tenderness of his preaching and the balm of Gilead was poured into hurt hearts along with the preaching of the Good News.[7]

[1] Methodist Churchman, 8 June 1904, p. 887.
[2] Gipsy Smith published his own account of the Mission of Peace; cf. his biography by Harold Murray.
[3] De Kerkbode, 5 May 1904, p. 206.
[4] Gipsy Smith, 1904, p. 22.
[5] Gipsy Smith, 1912, p. 287.
[6] Cape Argus, 18 April 1904.
[7] A. J. A. Rowland, retired architect and educator, born in England at the time of the Franco-Prussian War, confirmed details of the Mission of Peace.

Following the huge attendance at the first meeting, Gipsy Smith was given a reception by Members of Parliament and other civic leaders. The old corrugated-iron building was rechristened the 'consecrated-iron building.' Men were in the majority from the beginning of the mission, even in the inquiry room.[1]

Gipsy Smith asked his Cape Town sponsors to collect all drinkers and drunkards off the streets, and bring them to a midnight meeting in the old circus building.[2] Between ten p.m. and midnight, charabancs were sent around the city, loading men in various stages of intoxication. Two thousand noisily greeted the evangelist, some waving bottles of liquor. From his opening word Rodney Smith held their attention and there were many who professed conversion, including one who gave himself up to the Pretoria police as a murderer in whose place another had been hanged.[3]

There were more than three thousand people counselled in the Cape Town Mission of Peace.[4] A conference for students and a public rally were held in Stellenbosch, adding to the results of the Cape Town meetings.

In a concluding Cape Town rally, pastors told of congregations revived, prayer meetings alive and crowded, and whole families won.[5] The Cape Town Mission had attracted vast crowds not hitherto seen in any religious gatherings,[6] Methodist editors affirmed, and yet conversions were being reported in continuing church services all around the Cape.

On his way to Kimberley, Gipsy Smith held a meeting for Dr. Andrew Murray in Wellington, a tenth of the audience of 1500 making decision.[7] On May 14, the Kimberley Town Hall was filled, a wave of religious enthusiasm following in which the Town Hall was crowded to the doors upon every occasion, the sign 'Full Up' greeting the hundreds who had not come early enough.[8]

[1] Gipsy Smith, 1904, p. 23.
[2] Cape Argus, 27 April 1904.
[3] personal information from A.J.A. Rowland.
[4] De Kerkbode, 1904, p. 71. [5] Gipsy Smith, pp. 25ff.
[6] Ibid., pp. 34ff. [7] Ibid., pp. 38ff.
[8] Kimberley Free Press, 14 & 21 May 1904.

> In Kimberley the like had never been seen before . . . At times, the feeling was intense, strong men wept like children . . . The results far exceeded all expectation . . . British and Dutch mingled together, as they had never done since the war. There were cases of those who had been actually fighting against each other on the battlefield, one pointing the other to the Lamb of God.[1]

Thirteen hundred inquirers were counselled, a third of them Dutch Reformed, half of them young people. Fullest cooperation was given by the churches of the diamond fields. Family life was greatly strengthened by the movement.

Night after night in Bloemfontein, the Town Hall was overcrowded in an unprecedented way in the Orange Free State capital.[2] Again men, predominating in the audiences, 'trembled under conviction of sin.' Local editors gave the campaign a column and a half of comment and news daily.[3] The Dutch Reformed ministers took a major part in the Mission, in which 266 of the 570 counselled were of Reformed preference. As elsewhere, the Afrikaner and English-speaking were found working together, sometimes a 'man in khaki' kneeling beside a former 'burgher on commando.' Gipsy Smith, Free Church evangelist, Taylor Smith, Anglican Bishop, the dean of the Anglican cathedral and the local Roman Catholic priest had 'tea together.'[4] And when a bitter attack on Gipsy Smith's preaching for instantaneous conversion was made later in the local press, it was answered by the Roman Catholic priest in a defence of the evangelist.[5]

Johannesburg, which had accumulated in eighteen years a population of 160,000, was the venue of the next Mission of Peace, which was sponsored by the Witwatersrand Church Council.[6] A big tent had been erected in Krugersdorp and a special train took the people there.[7] Crowds increased from

[1] Methodist Churchman, 8 June 1904, p. 887.
[2] Ibid., 22 June 1904, p. 821.
[3] The Friend, Bloemfontein, 30 May 1904 & following.
[4] Methodist Churchman, 21 September 1904.
[5] The Friend, 11 & 15 June 1904.
[6] The Star, Johannesburg, 11 June 1904.
[7] Ibid., 13 June 1904.

the initial 2500. Dutch Reformed ministers announced that 2337 inquirers had professed faith, 980 of Dutch Reformed preference, 450 Methodist, 290 Anglican, 240 Presbyterian, 145 Baptist and 101 Congregational, 131 of other loyalties![1]

As in Cape Town, an endeavour was made to reach the city's alcoholics. A Salvation Army Band led a march of 4000 witnesses, and a hundred workers visited bars and canteens, the tent being filled again for a midnight meeting.[2]

During the Pretoria Campaign, July 10 till July 17, it was learned that ex-President Paul Kruger had died in exile overseas. Gipsy Smith announced a memorial service which was largely attended. Among the inquirers after the Lord Whom the dour old President had served in his own faithful way was a grandson of Oom Paul, and a Boer general was numbered among the nine hundred professing conversion.[3]

In Ladysmith, ten days of prayer meetings preceded two nights of preaching, but there were few inquirers registering their decisions.[4] No explanation was published.

The Town Hall in Durban was crowded out for the Mission of Peace, 24th July onwards.[5] More than eighteen hundred nightly attended meetings, sponsored by some forty Durban churches. The local press supplied a friendly editorial and many columns of news about 'the wonderful ingathering.' There were eight hundred inquirers counselled, a quarter being referred to Methodist churches.[6] Durban ministers reported quickening of church life in worship services and in prayer meetings as well. But from the week following,[7] angry letters appeared in the press regarding the evangelist's strictures on intoxicating beverages and on the theatrical profession.[8] A storm brewed in the foothills, and burst upon the evangelist in the provincial capital.

[1] De Kerkbode, 30 June 1904, p. 315.
[2] Methodist Churchman, 13 July 1904.
[3] Gipsy Smith, 1904, pp. 85ff.
[4] Methodist Churchman, 24 August 1904.
[5] Natal Mercury, Durban, 25 July 1904.
[6] Ibid., 26 July 1904.
[7] Ibid., 1 August 1904.
[8] Ibid., 2 August 1904.

In Pietermaritzburg, Gipsy Smith met with 'a most bitter opposition from the people in the liquor and theatrical and gambling professions.[1] Hit elsewhere by the response of the crowds attending the meetings, they denounced him as 'King of Bunkum,' 'A Fraud,' 'the Biggest Humbug in South Africa.' One newspaper proved hostile at first, the other friendly.[2] Again there were record crowds and commitments recorded by the hundreds among inquirers. The sponsors noted: 'What a gracious work of God it has been!'[3]

The Natal missionaries of the American Board reported as an overflow from the Durban Mission an unusual local awakening among the Zulus at Amanzimtoti, in which there were confessions of sin and conversions to God.[4]

Gipsy Smith, accompanied by his wife and daughter, sailed from Durban to East London,[5] where a wave of quickening and revival was expected in church circles. Rain fell all Sunday,[6] and continued to handicap the mission, but the Town Hall soon became crammed from wall to wall. One minister announced that 275 inquirers had applied for membership in his church.[7]

The final campaign was held in the Feather Market Hall in Port Elizabeth, the biggest of all available buildings in South Africa.[8] Despite bad weather, 2000 gathered and the Mission grew till a thousand were counselled.[9] The Mayor presided over the final meeting on September 13.[10]

The Gipsy Smith Mission of Peace did not escape the usual criticisms which plague itinerant evangelists. A resident minister commented:[11]

1 Gipsy Smith, 1904, pp. 100ff.
2 Natal Times and Natal Witness, Pietermaritzburg, cf. issues of August 1904.
3 Methodist Churchman, 31 August 1904.
4 Missionary Herald, Boston, 1904, p. 493.
5 Daily Despatch, East London, 20 August 1904.
6 Ibid., 22 and 29 August 1904.
7 Gipsy Smith, 1904, pp. 129-130.
8 Daily Telegraph, Port Elizabeth, 5 September 1904.
9 Ibid., 12 & 13 September 1904.
10 Methodist Churchman, 14 & 21 September 1904.
11 Ibid., 14 September 1904.

Similar extraordinary awakenings were in evidence in the English-speaking congregations. William M. Douglas, who had been appointed as the Methodist connexional evangelist following the Gipsy Smith Mission of Peace, witnessed 'a great uplifting' during August at Somerset East, 'an echo of the Revival in Wales.' Husbands, wives, daughters, sons, and mothers, young and old, sought salvation.[1] Times of refreshing were experienced also at the historic town of Graaff-Reinet,[2] sanctified by the elder Murray's prayer.

At the Wellington Convention, presided over by Andrew Murray in late September 1905, the Rev. W. M. Douglas shared the ministry with Albert Head of England and participated in extraordinary happenings.[3] A couple of hundred people engaged in prayer from 10 p.m. until 1 a.m. when half of those present retired, while the remainder continued with fresh intensity. Like the 1905 Keswick Convention in England, the Wellington Convention was the largest for many years and was long remembered for its memorable happenings.[4] It radiated an influence throughout South Africa.

The religious press featured a stirring account of a spontaneous awakening in Simonstown, on the Cape Peninsula,[5] where the chief instrument appeared to be the fiery preaching of the Rev. J. McAllister of the Methodist Church of South Africa. It was marked by an intense conviction of sin. And another 'gracious awakening' during the spring of 1905 was reported in November from Woodstock following the October movement at Simonstown.[6]

Meantime, the Rev. W. M. Douglas was witnessing a 'work of God' in Aberdeen in October in which profound impressions were made on the whole town, bringing Dutch and English closer.[7] And in November, Douglas wrought a remarkable work in Port Elizabeth, where the greatest of results were

1 Methodist Churchman, 29 August 1905, pp. 2-9.
2 Ibid., 19 September 1905, p. 13.
3 Ibid., 17 October 1905, p. 14.
4 cf. The Christian, London, 10 August 1905.
5 Methodist Churchman, 7 November 1905, p. 13.
6 Ibid., 12 December 1905, pp. 2-3.
7 Ibid., 31 October & 7 November 1905.

seen among the Christians.[1] At Seymour,[2] there were 'striking and convincing proofs of the genuine and deep work of the Holy Spirit.' This was the beginning of a lifetime of effectiveness for William Douglas, still a power thirty years later in South African evangelism.[3]

The Baptist, Congregational and Presbyterian churches shared in the upsurge of revival. The reporting of unusual happenings by the religious press must not be interpreted to mean that only these places were benefitted. It seemed that the outpouring of the Spirit, so notable in Wales, brought about a rising tide of spiritual interest, not only in South Africa, but in all the world.

The Minutes of the Grahamstown District Methodist Synod assembling in 1906 at Graaff-Reinet took note of much cause for thankfulness for the good work going on in the various churches of the district. 'The Spirit of prayer is abroad,' it was reported, and it was noted that in missions held there had been great blessing, with sinners converted and saints strengthened in the faith.[4]

It is very difficult for the historian of major evangelical awakenings to assess the numbers of accessions to state churches or folk churches made in any given movement.

For example, the 1859 Revival resulted in hundreds of thousands of conversions in Scotland, but the statistics of the Church of Scotland failed to show the benefit in the way that the statistics of the Methodist bodies in England did, so many Scots converts having been already members of the state church by family connection.[5]

In the same way, the statistics of the Dutch Reformed in South Africa failed to show the difference between a member of the folk church by infant baptism and juvenile confirmation and one converted in evangelism or revival in the church.

[1] Ibid., 21 & 28 November 1905.
[2] Ibid., 19 December 1905.
[3] personal knowledge.
[4] Minutes, Grahamstown District Methodist Synod, Graaff-Reinet, 7-13 February 1906, in the Archives, Cory Library, Rhodes University.
[5] see Appendices, J. Edwin Orr, 1949.

It was different with the Methodists of South Africa, who kept careful statistics of all their accredited members in local societies as well as of probationers on trial. Methodist Conferences from 1901 until 1910 showed an interesting graph —from an increase in membership of nearly 7% in 1902, possibly due to the presence of many British Methodists in the Army and Navy, additions dropped to 2% in 1903. In the years of the revival, the increase in membership grew to nearly 8% in 1904, 14% in 1905 and 8% in 1906, a thirty per cent increase in three years. The three years following the period of harvest showed practically no gains until 1910. There is every reason to believe that the increase clearly demonstrated in the Methodist statistics was true of other evangelical churches.

To understand the awakening in post-war South Africa, it is necessary to look to Wales, where one of the most unusual religious revivals of all time was occurring.

Chapter XVIII

Revival Far and Wide, 1905—

Church membership in Wales was declining in the last decade of the nineteenth century, all of the denominations suffering the impact of a worldly spirit in the pews and a loss of power in the pulpits.[1] The tide turned slowly.

The Welsh Revival of 1904 may be traced to the chapel of the Rev. Joseph Jenkins at New Quay in Cardigan, and dated as early as February 1904.[2] The official evangelist of the Welsh General Assembly, Seth Joshua, arrived in New Quay in September of 1904 and found a remarkable 'revival spirit' in the place.[3] After an unparalleled week of services, he went on to Newcastle Emlyn, where a number of students at the Academy were moved to accompany the evangelist to his next series, in Blaenannerch, among them Evan Roberts.[4]

Evan John Roberts was born at Bwlchymynydd, Loughor, near Gorseinon, close to the Glamorgan and Carmarthen border, on 8th July 1878. His was a devout family, Bible reading, family worship and Sunday School playing a large part in his life.[5] When his father was injured in the mine, Evan (a big boy for his age) began to work there before his twelfth birthday. A year or so later, he became a communicant in the Moriah congregation of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist denomination, now the Presbyterian Church. Evan Roberts resolved to attend faithfully the means of grace; he attended meetings almost daily.

[1] Y Goleuad, 11 April 1900; cf. Y Drysorfa, November 1902; Yr Haul, 15 March 1902 & Y Cyfaill Eglwysig, December 1902. (Welsh notes by Dr. Eifion Evans, periodicals accessible in National Library of Wales.
[2] The Christian, 7 September 1905, p. 17.
[3] Seth Joshua's Diaries, Archives, National Library of Wales, Calvinistic Methodist files, 17916.
[4] Ibid., also notes from the Rev. Peter R. Joshua, son of Seth Joshua, retired at Port Hueneme, California.
[5] personal knowledge. (The writer was privileged to enjoy a friendship with Evan Roberts 30 years later)

In Blaenannerch one morning,[1] Joshua closed a meeting with a moving prayer, crying out (in Welsh) 'Lord . . . bend us.' Evan Roberts went to the front to kneel, crying in great agony: 'Lord, bend me.' Seth Joshua noted it in his diary.

Roberts returned home by train on October 31. Although he had thought of forming a team of young evangelists, he went to Loughor alone, hoping to convince his family and his home church of his mission. Not long after, encouraged by the friendliness of the two ministers who knew him best, and not discouraged by the bewilderment of his family, he began his mission in an after-meeting on Monday night, seventeen only being present.[2]

At the Moriah Chapel, the young prophet first made use of the Four Points which formed such an important part of his message at the beginning of the Welsh Revival—summarized as follows:[3]

1. You must put away any unconfessed sin.
2. You must put away any doubtful habit.
3. You must obey the Spirit promptly.
4. You must confess Christ publicly.

After a couple of weeks of success and failure, a movement of revival was manifest. Soon the crowds of young people going to early morning prayer meetings were awakening others less so inclined. Evan Roberts preached at Brynteg Congregational Chapel on the 9th and 10th of November, and it was on that latter day that a Cardiff newspaper carried a brief account of the revival in west Glamorgan.[4] Thus began the popular phase of the Revival.

A local minister reported that the community had been converted into a praying multitude. The lives of hundreds of coal-miners and tin-plate workers were transformed, men going straight from the mills and pit-heads to chapel, leaving the taverns practically empty.[5]

[1] Western Mail, consolidated reports, iii: 29-31.
[2] D. M. Phillips, pp. 194ff.
[3] Ibid., pp. 234ff, cf. G.T.B. Davis, 1960, p. 79.
[4] Western Mail, Cardiff, 10 November 1904.
[5] Ibid., consolidated reports, i: 2, quoting a correspondent writing on 9 November 1904.

In the second week of December, 1904, the Welsh press reported that the religious revival was spreading rapidly throughout North Wales,[1] beginning in practically every town with interdenominational prayer meetings, often followed by preaching services, then open meetings; the results were the same, the quickening of church members, conversion of outsiders, and virtual elimination of drunkenness and of swearing, as in South Wales.[2]

Gipsy Smith described a meeting at Maesteg where Evan Roberts appeared after two-and-a-half hours of spontaneous prayer and praise and exhortation. 'Anybody would sing, even a little child. There was no speechmaking.' Evan Roberts himself was present but did not take part audibly.[3]

By the New Year of 1905, the Welsh Revival had reached its greatest power and extent.[4] All classes, all ages and every denomination shared in the general awakening. Totals of converts added to the churches were published in local newspapers, 70,000 in two months, 85,000 in five, and more than a hundred thousand in half a year.[5] Of these, seventy-five thousand were still in the membership of the Welsh churches in 1914, despite emigration.

Stocks of Welsh and English Bibles were sold out.[6] Prayer meetings were held in the coal mines, in trains and trams and places of business. The works managers bore testimony of the change in behaviour of their employees. Magistrates were often presented with white gloves, signifying that there were no cases to try.[7]

The great wave of sobriety which swept over the country caused severe financial losses to men in the liquor trade, and closed many taverns.[8] A great improvement in public morals resulted in turn from the closures.

[1] Rhos Herald, 26 November 1904, 4 March 1905.
[2] Carnarvon & Denbigh Herald, 9 December 1904.
[3] The Christian, 5 January 1905, p. 14.
[4] R. B. Jones, chapter v.
[5] cf. J.V. Morgan, pp. 248ff.
[6] Missionary Review of the World, 1905, p. 387.
[7] The Christian, 8 February 1905, p. 24.
[8] Ibid., 12 January 1905, p. 22; 5 January 1905, p. 24.

Many were the evidences of the Spirit of God at work in the country. Long standing debts were paid, stolen goods returned, while gamblers and drunkards changed their way of living.[1] Cursing and swearing in company were so much diminished that there were many facetious reports of strikes in the coal mines—so many men gave up foul language that the pit ponies dragging the coal trucks in the mine tunnels did not understand what was being said to them and refused to work.

At University College, Bangor, a student began to sing an old Welsh hymn; another student prayed and an unbroken succession of hymns, prayers, and testimonies followed.[2] Lectures were cut, as three hundred or more gathered for afternoon prayer, while in the evening the students marched en masse to the Tabernacle, which was crowded. There were similar scenes in other centres.

During the Revival, children held meetings of their own in homes, barns, and (in some cases) even in empty pigsties. The records are full of instances of young children taking part in adult public meetings, in prayer or exhortation.[3]

Dr. Campbell Morgan, of Westminster Chapel, visited the Welsh centres and reported in London:

> It is . . . a revival among church members . . . but it is held in church buildings. . . In Wales, the meetings are held in the chapels, all up and down the valleys, and it began among church members; and when it touches the outside man, it makes him a church member at once . . . It is a movement in the church and of the church, a movement in which the true functions and forces of the church are being exercised and fulfilled.[4]

[1] R. B. Jones, loc. cit. (The Rev. R. B. Jones became one of the preachers of the Revival, afterwards the founder of the Bible Institute at Porth.
[2] The Advance, Chicago, 9 February 1905, p. 189.
[3] J.V. Morgan, op. cit., pp. 163ff; cf. Western Mail, iii: 29 (report dated 30 January 1905).
[4] G. C. Morgan, Sermon in Westminster Chapel in London, on 25 December 1904. (Morgan also reported on the Welsh Revival to a rally of ministers)

In the Welsh Revival, confession of sin was particular and specific,[1] according to Dr. J. Vyrnwy Morgan. Dr. Campbell Morgan reported thereupon in London:

> The movement is characterized by the most remarkable confessions of sin, confessions that must be costly. I heard some of them, . . . members of the church and officers of the church, confessing hidden sin in their hearts . . .[2]

The Welsh Revival was marked by much emotion. There were always those who objected to the emotion shown in the meetings.[3] To some,[4] 'life with exuberance' was more to be dreaded than 'death with composure.' For fully half a century, critics sneered at the 'wind of emotion.'

An intellectual,[5] the Rev. Peter Price, made a bitter attack on Evan Roberts as the leader of 'a sham Revival.' Roberts remained silent, but he was hurt. Early in February,[6] he took medical advice and rested quietly after 'nervous prostration.' Evan Roberts retired in April, a full year afterwards, to the quiet home of the Penn-Lewises in Leicester, where he was hidden from a prying public. His recovery was intermittent and slow, lasting many months, and was followed by a long period of convalescence.[7]

For half his lifetime, Evan Roberts adamantly refused to take part in any ministry in public, refused almost all callers, and lived the life of a recluse, devoting his time to intercession. His post-Revival activity was regarded as strange.[8]

The author of this treatise met Evan Roberts thirty years after the outbreak of the 1904 Welsh Revival.[9] At that time,

1 J. V. Morgan, op. cit., pp. 227-228.
2 G. C. Morgan, loc. cit.
3 J. V. Morgan, pp. 141-162; cf. W. Ambrose Bebb, in Yr Argyfwng, 1954, pp. 30-33.
4 quoted in The Christian, 12 January 1905, p. 11.
5 Western Mail, 31 January 1905 and issues following.
6 Ibid., iii: 27.
7 M. N. Garrard, pp. 230-231.
8 personal knowledge, well-substantiated. There were several occasions when he broke his resolution.
9 see Bishop A. J. Appasamy, p. 40.

the Revivalist was living as a recluse at the home of friends in Bettws-y-Coed Road in the Cyncoed suburb of Cardiff. His health was poor, so he had a good reason to shield himself from visitors. But his mind was alert, and the household held him in awe as a saint.

There were many other outstanding evangelists in the 1904 Welsh Revival—Joseph Jenkins, R. B. Jones, W. W. Lewis, Seth Joshua, W. S. Jones, Keri Evans—all of them busy from morning till night.[1] The many famous preachers coming to Wales to see the Revival demonstrated no spirit of envy.

Their reports and the widespread newspaper publicity soon stirred up the Christians of the three Kingdoms to pray for widespread awakening in Britain. Early in 1905, ministers who had visited the scenes of the Revival in Wales addressed a conference in London.[2] The Archbishop of Canterbury also urged prayer for an awakening to move all of Britain.[3]

The Welsh R. B. Jones and the Irish Charles Inwood both challenged the enlarged crowds to pray that the 1905 Keswick Convention might be the means of communicating a Revival as profound as the Welsh movement to all of England.[4] Many evidences of revival were seen that year. Dr. A. T. Pierson directed a midnight prayer meeting on Wednesday, reporting afterwards that 'nothing like this had ever before been seen at Keswick; it was like one of the Welsh meetings on a far larger scale.' Young people especially were impressed. Each one of the Oxford and Cambridge house parties made his commitment to God. In less than a week, the convention had become a revival. On Friday, open confession swept the assembly. It was a memorable year.[5]

1 see the series of biographical sketches by R. Ellis, and a more dialectic series published in 1968 by B. P. Jones.
2 The Christian, 5 January 1905, p. 14.
3 Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1905, p. 471.
4 cf. the brilliantly written account of the Keswick movement by J. C. Pollock, pp. 121ff, and the staid details by W. B. Sloan, chapter vi, both inadequate.
5 The Christian, 3 & 10 August, 1905; cf. J.C. Pollock, pp. 123-128.

There were local awakenings 'similar in form' to the Welsh Revival reported from Scotland, as far north as the Orkneys.[1] A Welsh party visited Glasgow,[2] provoking an awakening, and local revivals multiplied, including a movement of profound effect at Motherwell.[3] In Ireland, there were local revivals, including one at Lurgan, and much successful evangelism.[4]

Extraordinary awakenings, reported in the denominational press as unprecedented since the times of Whitefield and Wesley in some places, broke out in England.[5] Effective and extensive church missions multiplied among Anglicans, and all the Free Churches shared in a quickening of church life.[6]

The Scots evangelist, John McNeill, at his busiest, said: 'Audiences are easier to get together than ever they were during the twelve years of which I can testify.' He explained the success of Torrey and Alexander in the British cities, saying 'they had benefitted by a sough in the air produced by the Revival in Wales.' John Wood, secretary of the Evangelization Society, stated that 'from all parts of the country' testimony reached their office about 'times of refreshing' to God's people and large numbers of conversions.[7]

As an evangelist of the conventional type, Dr. Reuben A. Torrey was a success. Assisted by Charles M. Alexander as singer, Torrey preached in cities with an aggregate population of fifteen millions—in Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Dundee, in Belfast and Dublin, in Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester and London.[8] In each place, success was unprecedented since the days of Moody, who excelled them in the attractiveness of his message. In each city, auditoriums seating many thousands were filled, and inquirers registered in great numbers, 8000 in Birmingham, 15,000 in London. Chapman and Alexander repeated the series in Britain.[9]

[1] The Christian, issues of 1905.
[2] Yr Herald Cymraeg, 28 March 1905.
[3] The Christian, 1905. [4] The Witness, 13 June 1905.
[5] Methodist Times, 1905, p. 131, & Christian Herald, 8 June 1905. [6] The Christian, 19 January 1905. [7] Ibid., 16 March 1905.
[8] On Torrey & Alexander, see G.T.B. Davis, p. 93.
[9] F. C. Ottman, biography of Chapman, pp. 222-236.

Eivind Berggrav, the worthy Bishop of Oslo, told the writer (in the episcopal manor at Gamlebyen) that the most stirring awakening he had ever witnessed was the 1905 Revival in Norway, begun through the preaching of Albert Gustav Lunde, a mutual friend, who preached night after night to five or six thousand people in the Calmeyersgate Mission House, the capacious Lutheran Inner Mission auditorium.[1] Albert Lunde was compared with Evan Roberts, and the awakening which had 'no parallel within a hundred years' morally transformed society in Norway as in Wales.[2]

Pastor H. P. Møllerup filled Copenhagen's largest hall, and throughout the winter of 1905-06, said by a Lutheran leader to be the greater winter since Christianity came to Denmark, 'pentecostal winds' were blowing over Denmark,[3] creating 'revival everywhere, in many places great revival.'

By urgent request, Albert Lunde proceeded to the Swedish capital, and commenced preaching in the great Stockholm Blasieholmskyrkan to thousands. In his mission, he was well supported by nobility and gentry, bishops and clergy, and a host of the common people. Prince Oscar Bernadotte[4] soon became one of Lunde's most enthusiastic supporters. A great awakening similar to Norway's continued to progress.

Throughout 1906, a revival of Christian faith and fervour moved all of Scandinavia. T. B. Barratt, an advocate of evangelism and revival, visited New York late in 1906 and there experienced a personal renewal of a charismatic nature while staying at the Christian and Missionary Alliance headquarters on Manhattan.[5] Thus began Scandinavian Pentecostalism.

[1] notes from the biography of Albert Lunde (M. Lunde), & knowledge from a personal friendship.
[2] London Quarterly Review, October 1905, cf. Record of Christian Work, 1905, p. 339 & Missionary Review of the World, 1906, p. 458.
[3] see Den Indre Missionens Historie, pp. 375, 432ff.
[4] Knowledge from personal acquaintance; cf. Record of Christian Work, 1906, p. 339; also Svenska Morgonbladet, 22 May 1905.
[5] Alliance Weekly, 1906, pp. 275ff; cf. S. L. Barratt's biography of T. B. Barratt.

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By urgent request, Albert Lunde proceeded to the Swedish capital, and commenced preaching in the great Stockholm Blasieholmskyrkan to thousands. In his mission, he was well supported by nobility and gentry, bishops and clergy, and a host of the common people. Prince Oscar Bernadotte[4] soon became one of Lunde's most enthusiastic supporters. A great awakening similar to Norway's continued to progress.

Throughout 1906, a revival of Christian faith and fervour moved all of Scandinavia. T. B. Barratt, an advocate of evangelism and revival, visited New York late in 1906 and there experienced a personal renewal of a charismatic nature while staying at the Christian and Missionary Alliance headquarters on Manhattan.[5] Thus began Scandinavian Pentecostalism.

1 notes from the biography of Albert Lunde (M. Lunde), & knowledge from a personal friendship.
2 London Quarterly Review, October 1905, cf. Record of Christian Work, 1905, p. 339 & Missionary Review of the World, 1906, p. 458.
3 see Den Indre Missionens Historie, pp. 375, 432ff.
4 Knowledge from personal acquaintance; cf. Record of Christian Work, 1906, p. 339; also Svenska Morgonbladet, 22 May 1905.
5 Alliance Weekly, 1906, pp. 275ff; cf. S. L. Barratt's biography of T. B. Barratt.

In Germany, for several years, prayers were offered for a German Awakening,[1] which began in late 1904 and continued into 1906.[2] In mid-1905, a summer Tent Mission was organized in Berlin.[3] Some who had been in Wales or at Keswick testified. On several occasions, there was quite a movement in the great audience, 'prayers and praises' mingled with 'testimonies and tears.' Both the Ruhr and East Germany experienced a profound revival, and other areas were moved.[4]

The Welsh Revival had a marked effect upon Evangelicals in France.[5] In a meeting in Aberdulais, visiting Frenchmen kneeled and fervently prayed with vocal support from the audience for revival in France.[6] A month later, an awakening began in the South of France, the movement of prayer spreading over the country.[7] Of a revival in the North,[8] it was said that 'it would fill a volume to recount the marvellous things we saw.' The work bore the marks of the Welsh Revival, 'bitterness, remorse, tears, confessions and repentance,' followed by great joy. Reuben Saillens of the McCall Mission was in demand for meetings all over France.[9] Awakenings likewise began in the Low Countries.[10]

An awakening began among the Protestants of Hungary in mid-1905.[11] Before the end of the year, observers of this Hungarian Revival reported 'the spirit of revival manifesting itself in a surprising fashion in prayer, confession, reconciliation and praise.' In the Balkans, revival was reported,[12] and a great movement began in Russia.[13]

1 The Christian, 20 July 1905.
2 cf. P. Scharpff, pp. 297ff.
3 The Christian, 19 October 1905.
4 P. Scharpff, loc. cit.
5 Methodist Missionary Society, Report, 1906, p. 31.
6 Western Mail, consolidated reports, iii: 17.
7 The Christian, 16 February 1905.
8 Ibid., 26 October & 30 November 1905.
9 Record of Christian Work, 1908, p. 172.
10 The Christian, 14 September 1905.
11 Ibid., 10 August & 2 November 1905.
12 Missionary Review of the World, 1905, p. 309.
13 see S. Bolshakoff on Russian Evangelicalism.

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In 1899, just before he died in harness, D. L. Moody said to his friends:

> Now the question is, 'Shall we have a great and mighty harvest? . . . I would like before I go hence to see the whole church of God quickened as in '57 from Maine to California.[1]

In the year of the Welsh Revival, Moody's friends at the Moody Bible Institute were able to say: 'This desire was not gratified in the flesh but the Revival has come.'[2]

The year 1905 was a year of general revival in North America.[3] First, the Welsh churches in Pennsylvania and New York experienced revival communicated directly from Wales in March of 1905.[4] Next, in Schenectady, the news of the Revival in Wales stirred up churches of all denominations.[5] One weekday fifty churches were crowded out; the Y.M.C.A.s (as in 1858) were involved in the movement which filled the churches, theatres and public halls.[6] Observers noted that 'the present outburst of religious enthusiasm seems to be spontaneous.'

To Northfield Conference, founded by Moody, G. Campbell Morgan brought news of the Welsh Revival. Len Broughton there led some unusual meetings that were overtaken by a wave of confession.[7] 'The scenes witnessed during the closing week almost defy description,' it was stated. Similar scenes were reported from Winona Lake Conference in Indiana.

Of the 1905 American movements, Methodist authorities declared with conviction:[8]

> A great Revival is sweeping the United States. Its power is felt in every nook and corner of our broad land. The Holy Spirit is convincing . . . 'of sin, of righteousness and of judgment.'

1 The Christian, 26 April 1906.
2 Ibid.
3 Alliance Weekly, 7 April 1906, p. 353.
4 Y Goleuad, 3 March 1905.
5 Alliance Weekly, loc. cit.
6 Missionary Review of the World, 1905, p. 300.
7 The Christian, 7 & 14 September 1905.
8 Michigan Christian Advocate, quoted in the issue of 6 March 1905 of The Christian.

The following year, 1906,[1] was summarized thus: 'It has been a year of revival, a year of the Holy Ghost.'

Dr. Reuben A. Torrey returned to the United States at the end of 1905, hailed as the successor to Moody, whose Bible Institute in Chicago he directed.[2] For six years, Torrey engaged in big city campaigns before his 'retiring' to the Bible Institute of Los Angeles. Torrey campaigned in Toronto and Ottawa, in Philadelphia, Atlanta, San Francisco, Cleveland, Omaha, Nashville and Chicago and other cities. Philadelphia, after two months of meetings, counselled about three thousand five hundred inquirers.

Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman, official evangelist of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., in 1908[3] conducted a campaign in Philadelphia with Charles Alexander, assisted by forty evangelists and singers in forty districts of the city. Of the various denominations, four hundred local churches cooperated. The meetings lasted six weeks and attendances aggregated a million and a half, seven thousand inquirers being counselled.[4]

For ten years, mass evangelism became big business in the United States. While it lost its spirituality, in measure, at its best it owed its rise to the spiritual influence of the Welsh Revival.

Evangelicals carried a burden for Latin America, one writing prophetically:

> The signs of the times point to the coming of great, sweeping revivals. All the work thus far is providentially preparatory to them. And when they once get started among these impulsive peoples, the mighty changes that will follow fast and far throughout that immense, homogeneous territory promise to surpass anything of the kind hitherto known.[5]

[1] Alliance Weekly, 1907, p. 222.
[2] F.G.Beardsley, p. 320; cf. G. T. B. Davis on the campaigns of Torrey and Alexander.
[3] F. C. Ottman, pp. 109ff.
[4] Ibid., p. 117, cf. Loetscher's treatise upon Presbyterianism and Revivals.
[5] T. B. Wood, 'South America as a Mission Field.'

Such awakenings began in Latin America after the Welsh Revival. In 1905,[1] the Evangelicals in Brazil experienced a religious awakening 'due to the work of the Holy Spirit.' In Chile, groups of Evangelicals met for prayer before and after news came of the Welsh Revival.[2] In 1907, news of an Indian Revival provoked another movement, giving rise to a great indigenous work. In Mexico, an awakening began in the capital city in 1905, beginning in prayer and extending in evangelism.[3]

Several years before the outbreak of revival in Wales, a movement had begun in Australia, according to an article on the Genesis of the Australian Revival of the early twentieth century. In 1902, the Torrey-Alexander evangelistic team sailed for the island continent and enjoyed 'unprecedented success' in evangelism undergirded by revival.[4]

Their Melbourne Mission began in the Town Hall, became a simultaneous campaign conducted by fifty missioners in fifty suburban centres, and concluded in the vast Exhibition Building, seating seven thousand. From the metropolis, the missioners moved to the Victorian towns, thence to Tasmania; and in August, they tackled the metropolis of Sydney in New South Wales, again enjoying success.[5]

In New Zealand, Torrey commenced in the big Skating Rink in Wellington.[6] Canterbury Hall in Christchurch was filled two hours before the service and five thousand waited outside, ten thousand coming to the final service. Dunedin witnessed a great awakening, with many lasting results.

In 1905, a second wave of fervour swept New Zealand.[7] The news from Wales stirred up interest in Wanganui,[8] in which overflow meetings were held after church services, the move-

[1] Missionary Review of the World, 1906, pp. 199ff, cf. The Christian, 24 May 1905.
[2] see W. C. Hoover, on the story of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile, (in Spanish) Santiago 1931.
[3] Missionary Review of the World, 1905, p. 229.
[4] Ibid., 1903, pp. 200ff.
[5] G.T.B. Davis, 1905, p. 57.
[6] The Outlook, 13, 20 & 27 September 1902, 11 & 18 October 1902.
[7] Ibid., 21 January 1905.
[8] The Christian, 23 November 1905.

ment being of the spontaneous kind. In Waihi, a mining town,[1] news from Wales provoked a similar movement in which churches once half empty were crowded out, repeating 'many of the salient features of the wonderful Welsh Revival.'

The Welsh Revival provoked prayer in Australia.[2] The Torrey-Alexander missions had been followed up by local Australian evangelists, and new church members were instructed in the faith. A deepening of spiritual life followed.

Every section of Oceania experienced reviving,[3] whether in Polynesia, Micronesia or Melanesia, and especially the Indies, or greater Indonesia. In 1908, the island of Nias off Sumatra experienced revival,[4] culminating in the 1916 'Great Repentance.' Awakenings occurred in 1905 and 1906 in the Philippines[5] and Madagascar.[6]

The 1904 Revival in Wales affected Christian communities phenomenally in Southern and Eastern Asia. The most immediate connection came through the Welsh missionaries in eastern India.[7] Prayer there was followed by conviction and confession by rejoicing. The Awakening in Assam affected the Khasis, Nagas, Lushais and other tribes, making them within a generation predominantly Christian folk. The percentage of literacy in Assam in 1961 was 27 for the state, but 44 for the hill tribes areas in the state, and as high as 80 among the Christians, who numbered 567,049 people, of whom 474,189 were literates.[8]

[1] The Outlook, 30 September & 7 October 1905.
[2] Australian Christian World, 1905 issues.
[3] World Missionary Conference, 1910, volume i, p. 41.
[4] Missionary Review of the World, 1908, p. 167; cf. Rauws, on the Netherlands Indies, pp. 50 & 122.
[5] Missionary Review of the World, 1907, p. 725, cf. Baptist Missionary Magazine, 1905, p. 54.
[6] Missionary Review of the World, 1905, pp. 878; 1906, pp. 134ff, 5665; & 1908, p. 6.
[7] Missionary Review of the World, 1905, pp. 614ff; cf. Mrs. John Roberts, on the Khasia Revival.
[8] M. M. Thomas & R. W. Taylor, Christian Institute for the Study of Religion in Society, textbook upon Tribal Awakening, appendices pp. 19-29.

News of the Welsh Revival and of its Indian effects caused phenomenal awakenings in Andhra,[1] Tamilnad, Kerala and Kannara besides revivals in all of the northern Aryan parts of India.[2] The veteran Bishop Robinson declared that he had seen more striking manifestations of the power of God in six months than in thirty years before.[3] Whole scenes seemed to beggar description. The revival was followed by the development of a national leadership in the Indian Church.

The extraordinary Awakening of 1907 in Korea followed the visit of missionaries with news of the Welsh and Indian Revivals. It began likewise in simultaneous audible prayer, followed by intense conviction, confession and repentance.[4] The Korean church membership quadrupled within a decade, though a Million Souls mission launched after the Revival failed in its immediate objectives.

As in Australia, a very successful campaign of evangelism in Japan followed the turn of the century. It was reported that 11,626 had attended prayer meetings to intercede for blessing, while 84,247 had attended the preaching of the Good News in Tokyo alone, 5307 professing conversion.[5]

News of the Welsh, Indian and Korean Revivals brought another wave of fervour to Japan. Local awakenings of great intensity were reported in 1906 and 1907, a 'wonderful revival' occurring in Hokkaido in 1907.[6] Japanese evangelical church membership increased 85% in the decade.

The defeat of the Boxer Uprising in China was followed by a display of curiosity in Christianity by non-Christians, increasing church attendance.[7] In 1905,[8] missionaries and

[1] Baptist Missionary Review, 1906; Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1905-1906; also Missionary Review of the World, 1906, p. 162; and Methodist Missionary Society, Report of 1906.
[2] Missionary Review of the World, 1906 issues.
[3] Ibid., 1906, p. 701.
[4] International Review of Missions, July 1912.
[5] Japan Evangelist, July 1901, p. 227.
[6] Assembly Herald, September 1908, pp. 405ff.
[7] P. A. Varg, p. 86.
[8] China's Millions, 1906, p. 141.

national pastors 'were praying that China might experience a similarly gracious visitation of the Holy Spirit as has been recently seen in Wales.' It came in 1906:[1]

> China also has had its revivals this year, especially in the north. It is significant that here and in Shanghai and Canton the initiative has been so often and so largely Chinese. These revivals have been marked by a wholly unusual conviction of sin and by great anxiety for the conversion of friends and neighbours.[2]

A third wave of fervour swept the churches of China following the outbreak of revival in Manchuria under a Canadian missionary, Jonathan Goforth.[3] Every province was touched. Then came political upheaval. The Awakening waned as the Revolution of 1911 intensified.

It can thus be demonstrated that the awakenings in South Africa which preceded and succeeded the Welsh Revival of 1904-1905 were part of a worldwide movement.

[1] Ibid., 1907, p. 14.
[2] Missionary Review of the World, 1907, p. 14.
[3] see Jonathan Goforth's account, undated.

Chapter XIX

The African Awakenings

Just as the colonial settlers in the American Colonies so seldom displayed an interest in the conversion of their own American Indian neighbours, save under the impact of spiritual awakenings, so the colonial settlers in South Africa seemed indifferent to the evangelization of neighbouring Bantu tribespeople, except in times of evangelical revival. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Dr. James Stewart of Lovedale commented:

> Missions in South Africa are supported mostly by the home country. The colonial churches do little for the heathen, and the colonists for the most part are indifferent and ignorant of the subject.[1]

To explain the seeming indifference, the Scots missionary pointed out that distance often lends enchantment to a view, hence the faraway American and European Christians showed more interest in Africa; that the colonial church folk often suffered the vexation of unsatisfactory native servants and tended to care less about the natives' well-being; that the missionaries from overseas themselves were often to blame for neglecting to create an interest in missions among their colonial neighbours—a thing to be deplored because such colonial folk were known as liberal givers to good causes.

The effect of the 1860 Awakening upon the Dutch Reformed Church and that of 1866 upon the Methodists has already been noted. Dr. Stewart went on to point out that the various South Africa-based missionary enterprises had already reaped a harvest, citing the Dutch Reformed missions in Zoutpansberg and the Anglican and Methodist missions elsewhere.

It was difficult to draw a proper comparison, he said, between the work of overseas missionaries and that of South African churches among their heathen peoples, for so many Dutch Reformed congregations maintained a native mission, their ministers sustaining double charges, while Methodists often combined European and African country circuits.

[1] Christian Express, 1 September 1877, p. 1.

Soldiers on both sides of the Anglo-Boer War came into contact with the degradation of heathenism and saw the uplift of Christian missions. In 1903, about a hundred evangelical British soldiers were reported returning to South Africa to serve the common Lord of Boer and Briton in reaching the Bantu folk with the Good News.[1]

Soldiers serving in the Republican cause had an even better opportunity of observation. When the Boer commandos were engaged in mobile warfare against overwhelming British armies, General J. C. Beyers was directing commandos in action in the low veld of the northern Transvaal during the month of September, 1900.

Active on commando were several deeply spiritual leaders, including Ds. A. P. Kriel as well as General Beyers himself. Nightly, on commando, they led in Bible study and prayer.

Between Lydenburg and Waterberg,[2] burghers on patrol near Thabini located missionaries of the Swiss Mission in a lonely station, and gladly they attended a Sunday service. One of the three, J. F. Naude, addressed a crowd of three hundred natives. He and J. A. Retief were impressed by a missionary couple serving twelve thousand Africans. They were dismayed at the thought of thousands dying without even hearing the Word of God, and felt convicted that they themselves as a privileged people had not done all that they could have done. Distressed to find foreigners from overseas with a greater concern, they decided to convene the burghers in Pietersburg to discuss it further.[3]

On September 28, the meeting took action and decided to send (as soon as peace was restored) a missionary to the Zoutpansberg or Waterberg districts. Men stood up to make their vows of missionary service or support after the war.

[1] Ibid., 1903, p. 2.
[2] see G. B. A. Gerdener on Developments in the South African Mission Field, p. 15.
[3] M. W. Retief, pp. 84ff, a valuable source based on information received from Ds. J. A. Retief, his uncle. Another of the patrol later ordained, J. F. Naude, published his war memoirs in Rotterdam in 1903, describing fight and flight.

The General arranged another meeting, and at Warmbad on October 3 a larger conference met, deciding how to implement their vows. After cessation of hostilities, a hundred demobilized men contacted the Cape Missionary Committee and were assigned the care of Bethel, a mission station near Pietersburg, ten serving there with Hendrik Hofmeyr.

These awakenings in the relocation camps and prisoner-of-war camps overseas led to a general spiritual awakening in the Afrikaans-speaking Christian community.

This twentieth century awakening soon began to take on a missionary form, for the Dutch Reformed missions journal jumped from two thousand to six thousand circulation in but a few months' time.[1]

A hundred and seventy-five of the prisoners-of-war soon volunteered for missionary service, a total which ultimately passed the two hundred mark[2]—'a remarkable outburst of missionary zeal' and a 'cause for wonder' throughout the world of missionary enterprise.

The leaders of the Dutch Reformed Church, suddenly convened for a welcome emergency, were amazed and delighted with the influx of candidates, for the number of the Dutch Reformed missionaries serving in various parts of Africa had been severely reduced by fever and distress, so that more than a hundred candidates were needed immediately.

At a conference in Stellenbosch on the 16th of October in 1902, it was decided to build a college to prepare the soldier candidates for missionary service, and within four months the Moderator of the Cape Synod, Ds. J. H. Hofmeyr, opened the training college in Worcester, with Ds. A. F. Louw as its principal.[3] It was significant that a prisoner-of-war camp chaplain was chosen to head the enterprise.

Already in Lesotho, a movement of revival was under way, the Paris missionaries reporting additions of 1178 to bring the total of Basuto communicants in 1902 to 12,676. Their work was rapidly growing.[4]

[1] Missionary Review of the World, 1903, pp. 616ff.
[2] Ibid., cf. G. B. A. Gerdener, p. 15.
[3] De Kerkbode, 1904, p. 75, cf. G.B.A. Gerdener.
[4] Missionary Review of the World, 1903, p. 317.

In 1903, there had been an awakening among the students from various Bantu nations studying at Lovedale. In eight days' meetings, attendance averaged six hundred or so and 242 inquirers professed conversion.[1]

In 1904, a significant General Conference of missionaries labouring throughout Southern Africa was convened. From it stemmed a great missionary advance as well as practical cooperation between denominations and societies.[2]

The visit of John R. Mott in 1906 resulted in a drawing together of Anglican, Baptist, Dutch Reformed, Methodist, Moravian, Presbyterian and South Africa General Mission ministers at Lovedale. The conference not only healed some wounds of war but resulted in a great movement of the Holy Spirit in the student assembly, marked at first by an intense stillness and issuing in the lasting conversion of many.[3]

Charles Pamla was a veteran in his seventies at the time and retired to supernumerary status only when he became an octogenarian in 1913. He itinerated again as Methodist connexional evangelist. At times his congregations exceeded a thousand and as many as two hundred came to the penitent form.[4] Threescore converts from paganism were made in Bensonvale, twice that number of youngsters professing faith for the first time, and twelve times as many restorations from backsliding or indifference. Then followed campaigns in Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho communities, and in Aliwal North, Burghersdorp, Colesburg, Kimberley, Winburg, Kroonstad, Parys and Cape Town.[5] When he died, he was recognized by the Methodists as the father of 25,000 converts, and he was buried with honour in the Kokstad European Cemetery.

In 1911, the South Africa General missionaries reported an extraordinary awakening in Tembuland, in the Transkei.[6] It was marked by intense conviction of sin, resulting in many

[1] Ibid., 1903, p. 79.
[2] International Review of Missions, October 1912, p. 37, article by J. du Plessis.
[3] Missionary Review of the World, 1906, pp. 645ff.
[4] see G. & N. Pamla, chapters xi-xiv.
[5] Minutes of Methodist Conference, Cape Town, 1913.
[6] see W. Searle's account of Revival at Lutubeni.

confessions, including some of murder, and it was followed by heart-warming cases of restitution and reconciliation.

Though not directly involved in the Boer War, Rhodesia suffered its sorry impact. European congregations in both Salisbury and Bulawayo were hindered by a lack of interest in spiritual matters, the numbers of communicants in 1900 being deplorably small, while the work among Africans faced anxieties, difficulties and disappointments. In 1901, anxiety was reported in Bulawayo and depression in Salisbury. In 1902, a big incursion of new residents into Salisbury augmented the European congregations, but, in Bulawayo, work was at a standstill, ministers alternating between hope and doubt, while work among the Africans showed no great progress or some little decline.[1]

This state of affairs persisted into 1903 and 1904, with a continued depression among English-speaking Christians and a rising interest among the Africans.[2] In 1905, David Russell conducted evangelistic campaigns in both Salisbury and Bulawayo, church members being quickened and some outsiders converted to God.[3] So, while the European work was recovering slowly, progress among the Matebele and Mashona and other Bantu folk developed acceleration. The year 1905 was marked by incessant evangelistic effort and a steady response from the Africans.

In 1914, the South Africa General Mission reported a real challenge to Christianity in Gazaland through a revival of Bantu paganism.[4] A year or so later, in April of 1915, there began a quickening among the Christians, the forerunner of an evangelical awakening, spreading all over Gazaland and beyond from the Rusitu station.[5]

[1] Methodist Synod Meetings, in the Rhodesia District, Bulawayo, December 1900; Salisbury, December 1901; Bulawayo, January 1903 (for 1902); in the Archives, Methodist House, Salisbury, Rhodesia.
[2] Ibid., Salisbury, January 1904 (for 1903); Salisbury, January 1905 (for 1904).
[3] Methodist Missionary Society, Report 1906, p. 108.
[4] South African Pioneer, January 1914.
[5] Ibid., August-September 1916.

Three months later, Rees Howells sailed for South Africa. Coming from the 1905 Revival in Wales, he stressed the confession of all known sin and a total commitment to God.[1] On 10th October 1915, evangelical awakening began in earnest at Rusitu.[2] In the New Year, the missionaries were experiencing a measure of revival throughout Gazaland. At Rusitu, it was said that 'not a soul comes into a meeting without coming under conviction of sin.' Throughout May and June, the awakening spread across the field, affecting tribesmen in Rhodesia and Mozambique throughout 1916.

In 1917, the missionaries happily gathered at Mount Tabor in Natal for a revival conference which produced its own 'showers of blessing' among missionaries and helpers.[3]

Rees Howells, with the experience of revival in both Wales and Gazaland behind him, visited Lutubeni, Tembuland, in the heart of the Transkei. In 1918, an evangelical awakening was in fullest force among the Tembus, Walter Searle writing of 'another gracious visitation of the Holy Spirit':

> Mr. Howells stood dumb for several minutes and, after attempting to speak, could only weep. The weeping became general.[4]

The awakening in the Transkei spread to Swaziland in mid-1918. The movement made a deep impression on the people of the little country, including its royalty, letters written at the time confirming the reports given the writer by high-born Swazi Christians in person:

> At Ezulwini, the power of God came down on the very first meeting. . . the next two days I shall never forget. We were in the church eleven and twelve hours a day dealing with the people . . . from 6 or 7 a.m. until midnight. For two days and nights, many could not eat or sleep, either because of conviction of sin or because of the great joy that flooded their hearts when their sins were confessed and forgiven.[5]

[1] see N. P. Grubb, biography of Rees Howells.
[2] South African Pioneer, October 1916.
[3] Ibid., December 1917. [4] Ibid., July 1918.
[5] Letters of Evelyn Richardson, 25 May, 6 & 13 June 1918, in Archives, South Africa General Mission.

Jeremia, henchman of the Swazi king and a former student at Lovedale, had been ill for several years, scarcely able to walk. He was helped to the meetings, and came forward to kneel. Praying under conviction, he suddenly leaped to his feet and danced for joy, running hither and yon. One of the missionaries feared for her household breakables! The leaping lame man was completely healed.[1] This caused a great sensation.

The blessing overflowed to the heathen, eighty repenting in a week as real fear fell upon the people. The same effects were seen at Bethany where, in a few days, a hundred and twenty made profession of faith. Like meetings held at the capital, Mbabane, produced similar results.

Rees Howells and his colleague Medill declared that 'in every way, it was like the Welsh Revival.' The missionaries simply said 'the power in the meeting was indescribable.'[2]

The awakening spread in 1919 to Zululand, and again Rees Howells became the outstanding evangelist.[3] Awakenings at Mseleni and Makowe were notable, many folk 'confessing sin, with weeping,' and accepting forgiveness with joy.

Before long, by the middle of 1919, 'renewal of life' was reported from Christian communities in Natal, Swaziland, Tongaland, Zululand, Pondoland, Tembuland and other fields.[4] The awakening constituted a major advance of the Gospel.[5]

On the western side of the continent, in the first decade of the twentieth century, the Hottentots and Hereros revolted against German rule in Southwest Africa, slaughtering the German (but not the Boer or British) settlers.[6] Retaliation was severe, the Hereros reduced to a fifth of their numbers. It was not until 1910 that a turning to Christianity occurred among them.[7]

[1] Ibid., 25 May 1918. [2] Ibid., 13 June 1918.
[3] South African Pioneer, January & March 1919.
[4] Ibid., August-September 1919.
[5] see B. P. Head, on the Revival in Gazaland, 1916; and Advance in Gazaland: the Continued Story of Revival, 1918; booklets published in London.
[6] see A. F. Calvert, on German South-West Africa.
[7] Missionary Review of the World, 1910, p. 883.

Meanwhile, the discipling and teaching of the tribes of Malawi had been going on apace. The brave but bloodthirsty Ngoni warriors were learning to live in peace with their neighbours, also being moved by Christian teaching.

The conventions at Loudon increased year by year in power until 1910, when the Rev. Charles Inwood, of the Keswick Convention, visited the field.[1] For months before, Scottish missionaries had aroused the expectations of the Christians until a hundred prayer meetings were being held. In them, Christians confessed their shortcomings and prayed for the power of God upon the convention. Up to three thousand admission tickets were distributed by elders to encourage and control attendance.[2]

The addresses were given in English, translated into the local Tembuka, with little outward response at first; but a spirit of prayer and confession fell upon the elders. On the Saturday morning, a young man began to sob hysterically and was removed. A period of silent prayer followed the set address, but still the response was reluctant.

> Then an elder began to pray, confessing before all the sin of having cherished a spirit of revenge for an evil done him. Then another began to pray, and another and another, till two or three were praying together in a quiet voice, weeping and confessing, each one unconscious of the other.[3]

And then suddenly there came the sound of 'a rushing mighty wind.' It was the thrilling sound of two thousand five hundred people praying audibly, no man apparently conscious of the other. I could think of no better image to describe the noise than the rushing of wind through the trees. We were listening to the same sound as filled that upper room at Pentecost. Not noisy or discordant, it filled us with a great awe.[4]

[1] Charles Inwood's Record of a Missionary Tour in Central Africa gives many details also.
[2] Missionary Review of the World, 1910, p. 465 & 1911, p. 81; cf. Donald Fraser, pp. 279-288.
[3] cf. Charles Inwood's report.
[4] Donald Fraser, pp. 279-288.

Some began to cry out in an uncontrollable agony, hence the missionaries judged that unwholesome physical excitement would break out unless the meeting were controlled. Fraser started singing a hymn, but each person, for a while, 'sang what was uppermost in his mind and heart in a volume of tumbling waters' until all at last united in the words of a psalm of confession. The benediction was pronounced and the vast congregation dispersed in utter silence to pray.

Better to control the meetings, the womenfolk were asked to meet in the school quadrangle and the men in the large church. In both gatherings, 'torrents of prayer' flowed as the whole audience engaged in simultaneous prayer. On the Sunday, about seven thousand gathered, thousands of heathen having heard of the astounding events. An evangelistic message was given and again there was overwhelming response. In the afternoon, twelve hundred and fifty communicants partook of bread and wine, a eucharist indeed.

In the weeks following, at Chinde's, Ekwendeni, Bandawe and Livingstonia, Charles Inwood preached at conventions 'with the same mighty and awe-inspiring results,' while the missionaries led by Donald Fraser held a series of local conventions, each lasting a week.

The ethical fruits were lasting, for feuds were healed, debts were paid, bitter quarreling gave way to a brotherly kindness, prayer became joyous, candidates volunteered for Christian service, and many heathen were brought into the Christian faith. Although the intense fervour of the revival died away, the Malawi Church inherited

> a memory of the rapture and power that comes when God reveals Himself to men, a longing for renewed displays of His glowing presence, and an intense conviction that there is no power in the world so irresistible as the Holy Spirit.

It was the same in Zambia. Crawford, a Scottish Brethren missionary, met a man carrying a string with more than thirty knots, each of them representing a convert won for Christ. On investigation, the string of converts was found together, meeting among the rocks at Lofoi, praising God.[1]

[1] Dan Crawford, pp. 354ff.

In the eastern provinces, following the Dutch Reformed revivals in South Africa at the end of the Anglo-Boer War, there was a great ingathering of converts into the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, baptized members increasing from 600 to 2029 between 1903 and 1910.[1]

Farther north, the great breakthrough in missionary work in the Congo, according to Bishop Stephen Neill, came when African evangelists were sent out into village ministry—an effect of an evangelical awakening, one might add.

> The system of village evangelists was developed everywhere in Protestant missions; first, and with greatest success, at Luebo among the Baluba . . . The Kasai region is thickly populated. In 1904, Luebo already had forty outstations, each provided with a literate evangelist. Church membership stood at 3000.[2]

The mission station at Luebo was only ten years old, and it included among its American Presbyterian missionaries several American Negroes. As a 'city of refuge' in strife, the population had reached 10,000. By the year 1901, the American Presbyterians were reporting a 'Pentecost on the Upper Congo,' with crowds of six thousand listening to the preaching on Sundays.[3] In the following year, the Mission claimed a total of 854 members, with 382 new converts receiving instruction at two stations.

On 11th May, 1902, there came a remarkable awakening at the Luebo station, with 140 additions to church membership. In packed out services, five hundred soon became new church members and another nine hundred were receiving instruction.[4] In 1903, a new church was dedicated at Ibanj, in the same field, a thousand seats provided. In a thanksgiving offering, fifty thousand cowrie-shells (about $42 in value) were received. Some said that the area had become evangelized and that other fields should be opened up.[5]

[1] C. P. Groves, volume iii, p. 234;
cf. A.L. Hofmeyr, 1910, on the Nyasa Mission.
[2] S. C. Neill, 1964, p. 380.
[3] Ibid., p. 381.
[4] Missionary Review of the World, 1901, pp. 556ff.
[5] Ibid., 1902, p. 715.

By 1906, 9000 were members, 2000 preparing for membership, 6000 in young people's societies and 20,000 pupils in the various schools.[1] That year, 2180 were added to the church, 'a church of spontaneous growth . . . originated in itself and the Holy Spirit.' By the year 1914, more than a third of all Protestant communicants in the Congo—30,000—were in fellowship with the Kasai Presbyterian Mission.[2]

The Congo Awakening affected other parts. In the Kifwa field, thirteen churches baptized 648 believers in 1906, and gave instruction to eighteen hundred more in preparation for baptism.[3] The Congo Balolo Mission, commenced by Grattan Guinness, experienced an abundant harvest at its stations in the Congo, particularly Bonginda.[4] It was stated that 'this African Revival has been remarkable for the spirit of prayer demonstrated, Saturday evening prayer meetings being crowded in preparation for the fruitful Sunday services. A peculiar feature of the movement was the occurrence of prophetic dreams among the people.

In 1906, Alliance missionaries in the Congo were much concerned about the need of an awakening in their field, declaring frankly:[5]

> We need an outpouring of the Holy Spirit to reveal and convict of sin and to quicken, and for this we are praying.

In 1907, a marked revival had begun at the Alliance mission stations at Kinkonzi and Yema.[6] By 1908, they were reporting a 'fruitful revival.' The world-wide tide had lapped another corner of the shores of Christian outreach.

After a period in which the work languished, Baptists at Banza Manteke reported an outbreak of conviction of sin in their congregations, followed by conversions, and announced a resumption of missionary progress in their fields.[7]

In 1897, the American Disciples of Christ had sent out a scouting party to the Congo but received little encouragement

[1] Missionary Review of the World, 1906, p. 308.
[2] Ibid., 1914, p. 628. [3] Ibid., 1907, p. 952.
[4] Ibid., 1906, p. 325.
[5] Alliance Weekly, 8 June 1907, p. 211.
[6] Ibid., 1908, p. 177.
[7] Baptist Missionary Magazine, Boston, 1910.

from Belgian Congo officials. Fraternally, the American Baptists turned over one of their stations to their Campbellite friends and from there the enterprise spread. The wave of awakening reached the Disciples' field in 1912, and a revival at Lotumbe proved the most notable event in the greatest of their years of service.[1]

In 1908, after addressing tens of thousands of men in his crowded meetings in Great Britain, C. T. Studd of cricketing and missionary fame (himself in middle age) heard the call of Africa, and came out to the Congo to found the Heart of Africa Mission which developed within a generation into the Worldwide Evangelization Crusade.[2]

The Christian and Missionary Alliance began its Angola work in 1910,[3] and (by way of Northern Rhodesia) the South Africa General Mission entered the country,[4] supplementing American and British missions established decades before. In Angola, in the area pioneered by the Brethren of the Garenganze Mission, under F. S. Arnot, an awakening was reported among the tribes. In the north of Angola, the local movements among tribal relatives in the Belgian Congo had their effect upon Angola Baptists.

In southern Cameroons, from 1906 onward the American Presbyterians witnessed a wonderful transformation of the M'bey people, regarded as thieves and cannibals by their neighbours.[5] The Bulus also experienced an awakening of great power.

Also in Cameroons, the American Presbyterians reported 'most encouraging signs' of spiritual awakening,[6] together with increased zeal in all evangelistic work in 1906. The year following was even better, more than eight hundred men, women and children having confessed Christ at a single church, where attendances averaged a thousand.[7] It was reported that practically all churches having native pastors had come to self-support in the previous two years.

[1] Missionary Review of the World, 1913, p. 953.
[2] see N. P. Grubb's biography of C. T. Studd.
[3] J. T. Tucker, p. 67. [4] Ibid., p. 70.
[5] Missionary Review of the World, 1911, p. 954.
[6] Assembly Herald, 1907, p. 119. [7] Ibid., 1909, p. 5.

In 1908, church attendance was reported on the increase, the Sunday services at Elat attracting sixteen hundred, at Lolodorf a thousand people.[1]

In 1909, the American Presbyterians reported upon their 'greatest advance' on the field, 'marvelous growth' in their churches, fed by a 'continuous revival.' Attendance at the July communion was 1200 at Batanga, 1600 at Efulon, 1700 at Lolodorf, and 3500 at Elat.[2] There were 2000 inquirers.

The German missionaries reported a revival of interest in Christianity in the Tanganyika fields. In Ostafrika, from 1888 to 1906, the fighting was almost continuous between the Germans and native tribes, sometimes a hundred tribes in revolt—yet Christianity increased.[3]

In its Mombasa fields, the Church Missionary Society had reported 'evident signs of the working of the Holy Spirit' in Freretown, but the news from that area the following year proved disappointing.[4]

> There had always been a marked difference between the dioceses (Uganda and Mombasa): while they agreed in their evangelistic emphasis, they differed in methods of work and in the type of men which they attracted to their staffs. In Uganda, more attention was paid to the training of African teachers and evangelists and there were fewer, but reasonably well-equipped, mission-stations . . . while in Kenya less emphasis was placed on the training of indigenous workers, and the European was found working single-handed in an isolated station.[5]

By late 1905, Christians in Uganda recognized that there was a need of numerical increase as well as spiritual uplift. Attendance had dropped and Christians were falling back into their old ways.[6] A 'Cycle of Prayer' was arranged for a month throughout the Uganda diocese. Prayer was offered for the Bishop and clergy and workers, native and European.

[1] Ibid., 1909, p. 105. [2] Ibid., 1910, p. 121.
[3] see G. von Götzen, on German East Africa.
[4] Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1905-1906, p. 57.
[5] H. R. A. Philp, p. 20.
[6] Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1906, p. 50.

The various areas received attention from the intercessors. The New Year, 1906, thus began in marked expectation.

In Uganda, awakening to spiritual life occurred in Toro country, resulting in intense conviction of sin and followed by an awakening to missionary responsibility. In the year following, Toro churches were still crowded, communicants at Kabarole alone increasing from 1208 to 1376 in five years, the Christian constituency from 2286 to 4118. The ingathering of new converts caused a lowering of spiritual standards, some reported.[1]

Bishop Tucker reported in March, 1906, that

> We are in the midst of the Mengo Mission services, which are being attended by vast crowds—between 3000 and 4000 at a single service. The preparatory work of prayer and visiting has resulted in much blessing and we are earnestly praying that large numbers of backsliders, some of whom we have not seen for years and who are daily attending services, may be restored.[2]

This revival attracted the largest attendance of Baganda until then seen, for any purpose, religious or otherwise. Morning meetings exceeded four thousand attending all the week through, aggregate attendance being more than 50,000. Many were the conversions. Such was the deepening of the spiritual life that results spilled over East Africa.[3]

Late that year, it was reported that church attendance by non-Christians was up by 33%. So great a change was experienced by inquirers that many postponed baptism as unimportant, later instruction reversing this trend. The local statistics recorded fewer additions than expected, because of an epidemic of sleeping sickness.

Beyond the area of Bantu habitation, in West Africa also there were spiritual awakenings, some on missionfields and others far from them.

[1] Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1905-1906, p. 89; Ibid., 1906-1907, p. 95; cf. Missionary Review of the World, 1907, p. 405.
[2] Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1906, pp. 371ff.
[3] Ibid., 1906, p. 615; cf. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1906-1907.

In Nigeria, for example, there was a great awakening in the Niger Delta, an extraordinary visitation of the Spirit marked by an agonizing conviction of sin among people whose notions of sin had hitherto been discouragingly feeble.[1]

The first decade of the twentieth century was a time of pioneering for two interdenominational missions, the Sudan United Mission and the Sudan Interior Mission, the former founded in 1904 by Karl Kumm,[2] the latter in 1893 by Rowland Bingham, a Canadian.[3]

On the other hand, a native prophet unrelated to missions arose to preach in the hinterland of the Ivory Coast and Gold Coast. William Wadé Harris, a native of Liberia, influenced by some Anglican missionaries, came to Christian faith and felt a call of God to preach. With neither foreign support nor sanction, he began to itinerate with a message of the One True God, observance of the Lord's Day, destruction of all symbols of idolatry, and renunciation of adultery. He won thousands of followers, as did others also who copied him in method and message.[4]

Unlike the nativist Bantu prophets of South Africa, Harris urged his disciples to seek instruction from the missionaries, the Methodists gaining thereby a constituency that increased to more than a hundred thousand.

Even in North Africa, in resistant Islam, 'the glory of the impossible' occurred—for in 1903 an awakening in the big mission-sponsored college at Assiut in Egypt provoked fifty students freely to offer themselves for missionary service.[5] By 1906, in Egypt there were signs of evangelical awakening, for Nachaileh, a town of about twenty thousand in Upper Egypt,[6] became the scene of an 'amazing work' of grace which soon thronged the assemblies of Christians, emptied the resorts of vice and converted thieves, robbers and drunkards, with 'at least one convert in every household.'[7]

[1] Missionary Review of the World, 1908, p. 463.
[2] see J. H. Maxwell on Nigeria.
[3] On R. H. Bingham, see J. H. Hunter's biography.
[4] On W. W. Harris, see W. J. Platt.
[5] Missionary Review of the World, 1903, pp. 795ff.
[6] Ibid., 1906, p. 458. [7] Ibid., 1906, pp. 308, 405.

In Algeria,[1] the French evangelist from Paris, Reuben Saillens, addressed an audience of 1200 in Algiers on the subject of the Revival in Wales, that meeting on the 27th November 1905 being the precursor of lasting blessing. In 1906, Saillens reported 'the most encouraging time ever known in Algiers.' A local theatre was crowded nightly by two thousand eager listeners, and many were the converts who were counselled.[2] A number, presumably, were colons, and others franchised North Africans, some migrating to the greater freedom of France.

Throughout Africa, Christianity advanced during the first decade of the twentieth century. There were many factors in that growth, but the main factor was the phenomena of evangelical revival and awakening appearing among African congregations. Without a doubt, the greatest numerical and spiritual gains were made through the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the churches.

No wonder that it was reported in 1910 at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference that 'by far, the greatest progress of Christianity in Africa has been achieved in the past decade.'[3]

[1] Ibid., 1906, p. 458.
[2] Ibid., 1906, pp. 308, 405.
[3] World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910, volume i, p. 40.

Chapter XX

Extended Social Impact

Britain's Royal Geographical Society, which erected a memorial obelisk to David Livingstone at the place where he died on the 4th of May, 1873, declared that the world was indebted to African missionaries not only for their work in educating and civilizing the natives, but also for the many important geographical explorations they made.[1]

Livingstone's name stands foremost among the great explorers of Africa. His father-in-law, Robert Moffatt,[2] and London Missionary Society pioneers blazed the trail of exploration before him, and later missionaries shared equally with the foremost professional geographer-explorers the privilege of opening up Africa.

Coillard explored the upper Zambesi,[3] Arnot penetrated the Garenganze[4] and discovered the source of the Zambesi, and Bishops Mackenzie and Maples, Drs. Stewart, Laws, Young, Elmslie and others opened up section after section of the unknown interior.[5]

George Grenfell, gold medallist of the Royal Geographical Society, mapped much of the Congo.[6] And, according to the explorer Speke,[7] other missionaries were the pioneers in mapping the legendary mountains of Kenya and Kilimanjaro, and were the first to explore the great lake systems.

A volume could be written about the explorations of the pioneer missionaries in other parts of the continent of Africa. The secular explorers were often well-equipped and well-financed by interested supporters in the world of business. The missionaries accomplished their explorations as a side-line, operating on a financial shoestring.

[1] Geographical Journal, May 1902, pp. 541-560.
[2] on his early journeys, see R. Moffat, 1842.
[3] on Coillard, see biography by C. W. Mackintosh.
[4] for the Explorations of F. S. Arnot, see E. Baker.
[5] J. W. Jack, pp. 105, 111.
[6] cf. J. S. Dennis, p. 425.
[7] E. Stock, volume ii, p. 137.

The missionaries were the pioneers of health and sanitation, of clinics and hospitals.[1] The first Protestant medical missionary to land in Africa was J. T. van der Kemp.[2] As early as 1823, the Moravians established a leper colony.[3] In the midst of incredible hardships, David Livingstone found time to report upon disease and medicines.[4] And from the compassionate efforts of the pioneers, a complex of mission hospitals ultimately grew.

From the beginning, the missionary societies declared war upon the slave trade. At times, whole communities of rescued slaves came under the jurisdiction of ordinary missionaries, who used every possible means to protect their charges.[5] The same missionaries further sought to influence civilized governments to assume responsibility for controlling and abolishing the slave trade. At home, their boards brought pressure upon the legislative conscience of parliaments and upon the executive compunction of governments.

The missionaries represented a constituency which protested the ghastly cruelties inflicted upon helpless Africans by Europeans in the slave trade. Their successors likewise protested the cruelties inflicted upon Africans by Europeans in the rubber trade of the Congo Free State.[6] It was not surprising, therefore, that missionaries endeavoured to deliver primitive tribespeople from the unchecked terrors of their own tyrannical chiefs or scheming witchdoctors, opposing the smelling out of witches, trial by ordeal and brutal torture or execution at the whim of a chief.[7]

The records of the past are attested, not only by missionaries, but by explorers and travellers. The following account of Xhosa custom was well-substantiated from the personal narratives of Taylor of California and of Tiyo Soga, the first Xhosa to graduate from a Scottish university, and by other qualified observers:

[1] see Lord Hailey's survey. [2] J.du Plessis, 1911, pp. 243-244, cf. J.E. Hutton, pp. 266ff.
[3] D. Livingstone, 1857, pp. 647-650.
[4] E. Stock, volume iii, p. 76.
[5] see Hansard, 1903, House of Commons debate.
[6] J. S. Dennis, pp. 290ff.

> The whole clan was assembled and seated in a circle; the witchfinder, who was fantastically painted and attired, went through certain incantations; and when all were worked into a state of frenzy he pointed to some individual as the one who had by bewitchment caused death or sickness among the people, murrain among the cattle, blight in the crops, or some other disaster. The result to the person so pointed out was confiscation of property and torture, often causing death. The number of persons who perished on charges of dealing in witchcraft was very great. The victims were usually old women, persons of eccentric habits, men of property, or individuals obnoxious to the chief. Any person in advance of his fellows was specially liable to suspicion, so that progress of any kind toward what we should term higher civilization was made exceedingly difficult by this belief. No one except the chief was exempt, however, from being charged with dealing in witchcraft. The cruelties practised upon the unfortunate individuals believed guilty were often horrible.[1]

These atrocities were not isolated instances, occurring in a corner of Africa. A Mukama of Bunyoro, a kingdom of Uganda, was buried in a grave lined with the living bodies of his wives and domestic retainers whose arms and legs had previously been broken to prevent their escape.[2] Such incidents can be found in the writings of explorers, traders and travellers as well as missionaries, and happened not only in South Africa but the Congo and East and West Africa.

[1] J. C. Warner was a Methodist expert on Bantu Laws and Customs; cf. W. Taylor, 1877, pp. 325ff; G.M. Theal, 1902, pp. 57-58; and the biography of Tiyo Soga by J. A. Chalmers, pp. 349ff, for the substantiation of mid-19th century practices.
[2] see C. G. Seligman's work on the Races of Africa. Documentation of the practice of cruelty, archival and published material, may be considered voluminous, and recent books on the sufferings of the missionaries in the Congo at the mid-20th century illustrate the current problem.

Next to preaching the Good News, the chief missionary method was elementary education, considered the beginning of modern civilization. The Bantu had developed a system of education through puberty rites to equip the young for life in the tribe, but there was no 'reading, writing or arithmetic.' At the time of the missionary contact, a majority of Bantu folk south of the equator possessed no alphabet or other form of writing, no set of numerals, no almanac or calendar, no notation of time, no measurement of length or capacity or weight.[1] The missionaries tackled the educational deficiency and found pupils as eager as any in the world.

As a matter of course, missionaries played their part in the reducing of the languages of the Africans to writing; they prepared translations of the Scriptures, taught the people to read and write, opened schools for the youth, established hospitals for the sick, introduced arts and crafts, and built up law-abiding Christian communities. What they had first accomplished for the Bantu folk in Southern Africa, they extended all over the continent.

The missionary attitude to the capabilities of the Bantu folk was one of enthusiasm, for example:

> These South African native peoples . . . are probably the finest black race in Africa. They have proved it as warriors and thinkers. The slave trade never touched them. They are monotheists, and were uninfluenced by the idolatry and fetish-worship of most Africans . . . they have proved strong enough to survive contact with civilization. They have it in them to survive as a people, being neither merged nor submerged among Europeans. All this we may well hold as proved. We therefore must take count of them as a growing factor in the development of Africa. They may spread material non-Christian civilization; this may mean future disaster. They may spread Christian civilization; this was Livingstone's ideal.[2]

[1] see Sir Philip Mitchell's essay on 'Africa and the West in Historical Perspective.'

[2] Missionary Record, United Free Church of Scotland, May 1903, p. 202 (article by B. J. Ross).

Southern Africa from the Zambesi to the Cape benefit[ted] first and foremost from the work of missions in education. Local Governments, in provinces and territories of Southern Africa, had established excellent educational facilities for children of European settlers. The education of the Bantu was left entirely to Christian missionaries, who at the turn of the twentieth century maintained 1860 schools of all grades with 110,895 students attending them. This represented a most half of all the schools maintained throughout the African continent and fully half its number of students.[1]

From the time of the awakenings in the English-speaking churches in the Eastern Province, the Methodists extended their programme of schools for the Bantu. From the time of the consecration of Bishop Gray, the Anglicans promoted a school system. The awakenings among Dutch Reformed churches had the same indirect effect, those who had been touched and challenged going forth to teach their less fortunate Bantu neighbours to read and write. And the overseas missionaries, whether from United States, Scotland, England, Germany, Scandinavia or France, operated such a successful programme of elementary education of their charges on their mission fields that the Governments of all the provinces and territories came to recognize the desirability of education for all the African peoples.

A government inspector made an enthusiastic statement about a missionary achievement, thus:

> A visit to Lovedale would convert the greatest sceptic regarding the value of native education. The great organizing power of Dr. Stewart appears on every side. The staff is large and able and the civilizing effects of the whole institution is remarkably felt. It may have its defects, but the scheme at present is the most complete, the largest and most successful of its kind in the country, and the institution as a whole is probably the greatest educational establishment in South Africa.[2]

[1] cf. J. S. Dennis, p. 74.

[2] South African Native Races Committee, 'The Natives of South Africa: their Economic and Social Condition,' p. 188.

By 1903, the Lovedale Institution maintained by the United Free Church of Scotland reported a total of 753 students, drawn from every part of Africa south of the Zambesi. It possessed nine industrial departments as well as a wide range of classes for intellectual training. The missionaries there trained altogether 4616 students in nine schools.[1]

Anglicans maintained schools and colleges in the Transkei territory, Zululand, and up-country. Wesleyans operated schools among the Xhosas; the American Board maintained several boarding schools in Natal and Zululand, with 530 students.[2] The Huguenot College at Wellington in the Cape was maintained for Afrikaans-speaking girls who (550 strong) were to be found engaged as school teachers and the like in various mission stations. In Basutoland, the Paris missionaries virtually became a local government educational agency.[3] In Bechuanaland, the missionaries maintained the only educational system. In Swaziland, the schools were begun by the missions. In Rhodesia, mission schools provided the only programme of education for the Africans.

In South Africa, African enterprise was not lacking, for a Zulu chief, John L. Dubé, who had graduated from the Tuskegee Schools in the United States, set up a flourishing industrial school enterprise in Natal for Zulus, with a couple of hundred industrial apprentice-students, a Christian school that was patterned after the Hampton Institute in Virginia which produced Booker T. Washington.[4]

By the turn of the twentieth century, social engineers were beginning to urge Governments to establish a state system of schools for Bantu folk with compulsory attendance and special training in technical and industrial skills. The same experts recognized the contribution of missions:[5]

[1] J. S. Dennis, p. 73.
[2] Ibid., p. 74. [3] Ibid., p. 71.
[4] Missionary Review of the World, March 1900, p. 212; cf. September 1903, p. 719.
[5] 'The Natives of South Africa: their Economic and Social Condition,' edited by the South African Native Races Committee, p. 182; cf. C. T. Loram, on the education of the South African native, 1917.

> Excellent work is carried on at some of the larger missionary institutions. The work is almost entirely in the hands of missionaries of various denominations, but it is recognized by the state and is aided and supervised by the Government.

One such expert, John Tudhope, observed in his report:

> If the natives are to be preserved, it must be through an enlightened system of education, fitting them to take their proper place in the political system, sharing its duties and responsibilities and also its privileges. But they cannot be expected to achieve this with careful preparation. No nation has ever passed from heathenism to civilization per saltum. It is only by a slow and sometimes painful process that this can be accomplished, and the natives of South Africa are no exception to the general rule. The efforts of individuals and missionary societies, supplemented by government aid, have shown us what can be done and results are sufficiently encouraging to warrant us going further in this direction.[1]

Missionaries were equally influential in other parts of the continent. As late as 1875, there were in Nyasaland, 'no schools, no teachers, no pupils and nobody who could read.' In thirty years, things changed. The Church of Scotland maintained a successful educational system based at Blantyre, with 57 schools and 3643 scholars; the United Free Church of Scotland, centred upon Livingstonia, maintained an even more remarkable system of schools, 15,765 pupils attending 207 institutions. In Ngoniland, southwest of Lake Nyasa, the Zambesi Industrial Mission maintained 37 schools with 1600 pupils. The Paris Evangelical Mission in Barotseland served 1200 pupils in ten schools.[2]

In Central Africa, at the turn of the century, the Zambesi Industrial Mission cultivated thousands of acres, largely in coffee and cotton, and useful trades were taught in forty schools based on ten principal stations.[3] This mission not only won hundreds of Bantu folk to Christian faith but also provided them a livelihood, after Ngoni raids.[4]

[1] Ibid., p. 184. [2] J.S. Dennis, p. 69. [3] Ibid., p. 100
[4] Zambesi Industrial Mission Monthly, November 1903

In the Rhodesias and the Congo, the American Methodists promoted industrial schools, along with their evangelistic enterprises. Other such industrial schools were established by various societies throughout Bantu Africa and beyond in the West African countries. It is interesting to note that Cecil Rhodes persuaded British South Africa officials to donate land for the missions in Rhodesia.[1]

In the Congo, the American Baptists were maintaining 109 schools with 3285 pupils, while their British colleagues there reported slightly higher figures, between them a majority of the total of 10,471 scholars and 318 schools operated by the evangelical missions together. In the French Congo and in German Cameroons were many missionary schools also, each serving the converts and inquirers.

In Angola, American Congregationalists and Methodists maintained a total of 32 schools with several thousand pupils receiving instruction.[2] The first party of Americans included a Negro educated at the Hampton Institute.

The German missionary societies in German East Africa (Tanganyika and Rwanda-Burundi) started their elementary school system in the country, ably seconded by the Church Missionary Society and other foreign missions. The Anglican Universities' Mission maintained a first-class school system on the Island of Zanzibar and the German-controlled mainland with 146 schools and 5079 scholars.

The Church Missionary Society in the British East African territory (Kenya and Uganda) were maintaining a total of 262 primary schools with 26,847 pupils. The educational policy of the Society was largely concerned with the elementary schooling of the entire body of inquirers and converts. Sir Harry Johnston, the British explorer and administrator,[3] estimated that 200,000 of these had been taught by the missionaries to read their Bibles and school-texts.

George Pilkington, the able Anglican leader in Uganda, made a notable comment:[4]

[1] J. S. Dennis, p. 101.
[2] Ibid., p. 75.
[3] Ibid., pp. 68-69.
[4] G. Pilkington, p. 20.

> It is astonishing what an educational value this read... of God's Word has; the pupils' very physiognomy seems to be changed by it, so that it is almost possible to tell a reader by his outward appearance. And in no other way does the reality of God seem to impress itself so forcibly on the native mind as by the daily poring over the pages of the New Testament at first mechanically and then with more glimmering of meaning, until at last the Divine message of love is intelligently grasped, and perhaps driven home by some sermon, or meeting or the faithful words of a friend; and another catachumen is added to the rolls and (we trust) another soul to the company of Christ. It is a noticeable and deeply instructive fact that profession of conversion never, or hardly ever, has been made by a Muganda who cannot read, except—of course—a few special cases of blind or old.

Theodore Roosevelt, one of the world's most travelled men at that time and an observer of very careful judgment, stated after a tour in East Africa:

> As soon as native African religions—practically none of which have hitherto evolved any substantial ethical basis—develop beyond the most primitive stage . . . they tend to grow into malign creeds of unspeakable cruelty and malignity and immorality . . .
>
> Even a poorly taught and imperfectly understood Christianity, with its underlying foundations of justice and mercy, represents an immeasurable advance on such a creed. Where, as in Uganda, the people are intelligent and the missionaries unite disinterestedness and zeal with commonsense, the result is astounding.[1]

In 1908, another traveller, Winston Churchill, added to the vindication of missions, contrasting the grotesque and pitiful welcome his party received from primitive people in other parts with the experience of entering Uganda—'another world' of 'clothed, cultivated, educated natives.' In his African tour, Churchill claimed that he had never seen better order or happier homes than in Uganda, 'where a few years ago the pioneer missionaries were mercilessly put to death.'

[1] Scribner's Magazine, August 1910.

As in South Africa and East Africa, so too in West Africa, where the missionary societies were operating nearly a thousand schools between the Benin Gulf and Gambia, with about 40,000 pupils.

This missionary educational enterprise was the forerunner of present-day national school systems, and it was maintained from the start by men of unquestioned dedication, supported by voluntary giving by Christians in more privileged nations. This is worth remembering.[1]

In African tribal education, the child was educated for the community, without a thought of individual gain at the expense of the family, tribe or community.[2] In Western education, whether in missionary or government schools, the pupil became an individualist in a competitive system. He developed a scorn for superstitious practices, witchcraft, divination, sacrifice and magic.

Missionary effort in Africa produced much of the disintegration of tribal societies. Chiefs who, for reasons of personal and tribal benefit, welcomed the missionary, seldom foresaw the inevitable result of the founding of a church—the transfer of loyalty to what appeared to be a higher way of life, and the depreciation of the old ways. Even though the missionary was an alien, the sharing of spiritual fellowship produced a spiritual kinship with him which the impact of less kindly Europeans could not destroy.

Missionary education, though a by-product of missions, produced a younger generation which soon felt itself superior to its elders, reversing an age-old and natural relationship.

[1] Research into the antecedents of a thousand African students in American and Canadian universities has shown that two-thirds came from missionary primary schools, and half from missionary secondary schools, according to the Institute of International Education, New York, 1961, 'Survey of the African Student,' p. 7.

[2] Meyer, Fortes & Evans-Pritchard, 1950, contrasts the pre-colonial tribal values (family origin, the number of wives and cattle, etc) with those of today, education, culture and money.

The African pupil became an inhabitant of two worlds, one the world of Western thought and technology, the other the world of his ancestors, his parents and elders, and most of his age-group. Of his own volition, he admired the one with respect and fear, and the other he despised with familiarity and contempt, though holding his family in an impatient affection.

Mission schools, though by no means the last word in either technology or education, introduced not only better animal husbandry and agricultural methods, but inculcated much-needed ideas of personal and social hygiene, prophylaxis against disease, and improvement of diet, resulting in a vast enlargement of living standards which in turn challenged traditional African superstition and witchcraft against which the missionary had preached in the first place.

In some cases, African peoples who had held other tribes in a kind of serfdom rejected the new set of values as inimical to their position, whereas the subject peoples welcomed the innovation. In most cases, the subject peoples forged ahead—as in the case of the Shonas in Rhodesia, the Bahutus in Rwanda and the Ibos in Nigeria. In South Africa, the pro-Christian, pro-education Xhosa far outshone the traditional, red-blanket Xhosa,[1] and produced Transkei's African elite.

In the areas of European settlement, the rise of an African educated elite disturbed the status quo. The first generation educated African endeavoured with enthusiasm to enter the world of the European. He was not welcomed, except as an inferior. The second generation of African scholars entered vocational training and became nurses, orderlies, printers, carpenters, bricklayers, agriculturists, technicians, and teachers, a skilled working class. The second generation found plenty of work to do.

[1] Mutual antagonism between the two—Red Xhosa regarding White Xhosa as traitors to the tribes, White regarding Red as backward in the face of a transformed Xhosa society, according to the study of Townsmen and Tribesmen by Philip Meyer—this tension was duplicated in other parts of Africa, as the strife in emerging nations has so tragically shown.

The third generation, reaching for higher education, soon channeled their frustrations into political activism and so emerged as the African elite. It was said by critics that the only change involved in national independence was the exchange of the leadership of the European for the leadership of the African elite. There was this difference: the African, whether born into a backward, tribal village or into a partly-educated working class or into the most privileged African circles, could rise to the level of his abilities and education. This became true in the Transkei as well as Tanzania.

Where African nationalism had been captured by Leninist propaganda, anti-missionary sentiment (already latent) was fostered strongly among the peoples who owed so much to missions; yet national leaders, as in Kenya and Nigeria, were quick to recognize their debt to missions.[1]

Outstanding Africanists were not ungenerous either:

> The great debt that Africa owes to missionaries is that in a situation in which the forces of trade, colonial government, and the missions themselves were creating cultural havoc, it was only the missions that began to rebuild. Whatever any individual Westerner may think of the missionary edifice, every African knows that it is to missionaries that they owe the beginning of the African educational system.[2]

Bohannon's summation may be applied to the missionary contribution in other fields also.

What was the motivation of the missionaries? It was a spiritual and altruistic one, primarily. It was obvious that missionaries did not go out to Africa for health or wealth. Between 1878 and 1888, half of the Baptist missionaries in the Congo died of disease, between 1835 and 1905, nearly a third of all the Wesleyan missionaries to West Africa.[3]

The missionary, with exceptions, was not the conscious agent of colonialism. He often indeed supported the extension of European civil power in Africa, but generally his support was due to his view of Christian responsibility.

[1] see Cowan, O'Connell & Scanlon, p. 144.
[2] P. F. Bohannon, p. 235.
[3] Lord Hailey, in his survey, revised 1956, p. 1066.

The motivation of the African in accepting the missionary contribution has also been analysed. Many African chiefs hoped to gain access to the more sophisticated weapons of warfare, to farming equipment, tools and information as a result of their welcome to the alien missionary. Improved seeds and hybrids ensured better crops, for example, and everyone stood to benefit in some way.

In the same way, the motivation of the convert in embracing the Christian faith has been studied. In some cases, it was purely spiritual. In other instances, adherents of Christianity saw some material gain in adopting the new way. Missions provided education, and education seemed to be the simplest way of entering the 'civilized' world with its promise of an escape from manual labour and its hope of recognition as one belonging to a superior society.

Secular critics have condemned the nineteenth century missionary for his obvious lack of an enlightened motivation conditioned by mid-twentieth century anthropological and sociological conclusions. It might be asked—Who in the colonial period between 1815 and 1914 possessed any such enlightenment? How was a missionary from Europe or America supposed to anticipate the findings of mid-twentieth century science? It is much more reasonable to recognize that the missionary was the product of nineteenth century society but one deeply moved by first century principles, by eternal verities, the Christians believed.

The missionary often confused western values with eternal verities. His converts sometimes did the same. But modern missionary polity is no longer concerned with westernizing converts. It is a recognized objective to convey and commit Christian principles to other societies, and let the converts work out their own harmony of faith and tradition. After all, Western Christianity also is only a Christianity imperfectly adapted by its adherents.

When missionaries sought to abolish African practices, polygamy, witchcraft, human sacrifice, bride-purchase, and trial by ordeal and the like, it was not for political reasons but because they were intolerable to Christian thinking. The attack, however, had a political effect, for it soon brought down a tribal way of life based thereon.

One of the handicaps of the missionary enterprise arose from missionary rivalries. Among Evangelicals, with some exceptions, a very general comity of operation was practised, due to the fact that such mission societies shared the same view of the Church, as a body of believers which existed in various organizational forms. This was heresy to the Catholic (Roman or Anglo-Catholic) which regarded the Church as a visible unity only, and denied—until the change of ecumenical climate—that the Evangelicals were in the Church at all. Most inter-missionary rivalries were attributable to this Catholic-Evangelical divergence in policy, though there were exceptions to this rule, such as a French-Reformed versus English-Wesleyan dispute in Lesotho.

The Congo may be taken as an example of the fullest of missionary comity among Evangelicals, who divided up the country with a minimum of friction. The 1946 missions map of the Congo displayed this remarkable comity.[1] The Roman Catholic missions in the Congo were not only outside these comity arrangements but were in a recognized competition for the loyalty of the African Christians.

The civil war in Uganda in the 1890s between supporters of the English-Protestant and French-Catholic missionaries demonstrated the extreme of inter-missionary tension.[2] Only in the post-war 1950s and 1960s did the traditional rivalry of Protestant and Roman Catholic abate somewhat. On Uganda, Bishop Stephen Neill described the conflict as 'a grievous and highly unedifying chapter in missionary history,' but Professor Latourette noted that 'the arrival in 1879 of the White Fathers . . . brought division and rivalry . . .' It is known that Cardinal Lavigerie, a truly great missionary director, regarded Protestant missionaries as dangerous rivals in the field.

[1] Atlas of Protestant Missions published by Librairie Evangelique du Congo, Leopoldville, 1946.

[2] S. C. Neill, p. 385, & K. S. Latourette, volume v, p. 414, and other standard works on missions in general and the Uganda conflicts in particular. The advent of Pope John XXIII changed the Roman Catholic attitude, and Protestants reciprocated.

At the mid-nineteenth century, a missionary presented himself at the kraal of a chief whose people had never before seen a European. The chief, after assuring himself of the visitor's lack of political ambition, generally granted his request for land to build a mission church and school. The witch-doctor was offended. The chief was hopeful of benefit to the tribe. Soon a crisis developed when the missionary's following grew in numbers. Sometimes the chief expelled the missionary; more often, the chief's son, educated in mission school, succeeded to the chiefly stool and supported him.

Complications followed the arrival of the first traders or settlers. Upon occasion, the resident missionary became a defender of the tribesmen against the rapacity of his kinsmen.

Meanwhile, the church school was raising the level of the 'civilization' of the tribe. Inevitably, the educated African began asking questions which the settlers or traders or the colonial government deplored. Often the missionary was blamed. He himself defended his charges but discouraged violent revolt. His position made him a kind of mediator. Ardent nationalists soon left him far behind. When the winds changed, the missionary was often the first non-African to accept the change. After the fever of revolution had passed, African leaders reassessed the work of the missionary and generally asked him to stay on as a guest of African society in the emergent African states.

Conclusion

The formative century in the development of South Africa was the nineteenth century. The dates may be determined from 1780, when the Cape Patriots declared their rights as burghers, until 1910, when later patriots created the Union of South Africa, forged in the fires of a conflict partly civil war and partly a war for national independence.

Between these two dates, most of the socio-political forces which agitated the world of the West came into play in South Africa: a challenge of American declaration of independence, a danger of French incitation to revolution, an impact of British extension of imperialism, together with the industrialization of the more developed countries, the exploitation of the less developed territories, the rise of the working classes, the education of the masses, the extension of the franchise, and the organization of trade unions.

Between these two dates there occurred five great world-wide evangelical awakenings: first, the revival at the turn of the nineteenth century; second, that of the 1820s and 1830s; third, the one that began immediately before 1860 and continued for a decade; fourth, that of the 1880s and 1890s; and fifth, the awakening that followed the end of the century—all of these awakenings affected all of South Africa's peoples.

Evangelical Christendom, when John Wesley died, was confined to Great Britain, Scandinavia, majorities in Germany, Holland and Switzerland, minorities in France and Hungary, and populations east of the Alleghenies in North America, but Latin America was closed by the intransigent governments of Spain and Portugal, Islam was hostile to the Gospel, the East India Company made missionaries unwelcome in India, and none resided in China, Japan and Korea. The South Seas islanders were savages, as were most of the tribes in unexplored Africa, at whose tip existed a colony of about twenty thousand heedless Europeans.

Thgoughout the western world were churches assaulted by a revolutionary scepticism Theig evangelical denominations were without Sunday Schools, Bible Societies, Home Missions and Foreign Missions—apart from the Moravians and the overseas chaplaincy of the Anglican S.P.G.

A thoroughgoing renewal of numerical strength occurred in the dormant churches in the homelands, and even in the unsettled Cape Colony The 'turn-of-the-century' awakenings sent off pioneer missionaries to the South Seas, to Latin America, to India and China, and through South Africa to aboriginal Hottentots and immigrant Bantu. Denominational mission societies were founded, Sunday Schools were formed and Bible Societies started their work of distributing the Scriptures, reaching South Africa from overseas and rising among South Africans themselves.

The awakenings that raised up evangelists on the American frontier, sent the Haldanes up and down to revive Scotland, produced Hans Nielsen Hauge to transform Norway and provoked revival and evangelism in England, Germany, Holland and other European countries, directly equipped South African churches using both languages with ministers of convinced evangelical convictions, with Sunday Schools, and a host of evangelistic and philanthropic agencies.

In South Africa itself, not only missionaries from overseas engaged in the evangelization of the heathen but local revivals stirred up stalwart residents of the country to reach their neighbours of alien race and lesser civilization.

Then a second wave of revival reinforced the foreign missionary invasion of all the continents, and continued its social impact upon the sending countries. Captain Allen Gardiner who reached the Zulus of Natal with the Gospel pioneered in the wilds of South America and died tragically. Missionaries reconnoitred the citadels of Islam. William Carey was followed by societies ready to evangelize India. Robert Morrison opened a way for missionaries to settle in the treaty ports of China. Evangelism in Oceania was followed by extensive awakenings in Hawaii and other Polynesian kingdoms. Missionaries pushed north, using South Africa as a base, and pioneers like David Livingstone explored the African hinterlands.

The transfer of allegiance of the burghers of the Cape Colony from a mercantile company of their own language and tradition to an imperial power about to expand into the world's greatest empire set the community in motion, internally transforming it and externally causing an expansion

north and east, the epic trek of the Boers. These Boers were neither ungodly freebooters nor sceptical deists. They were a hard-working, God-fearing people, carrying with them a daily practice of the Christian faith learned in a Kerk founded by followers of John Calvin and staffed by revived followers of John Knox.

The English-speaking settlers of 1820, sharing in the expansion of the South African nation, also owed much to the revivals of Napoleonic times. In their newly-founded towns there was no lack of true religion. They were God-fearing folk likewise.

The people of other races, Hottentot aboriginal and Bantu immigrant, with whom the Boers and Britons came into contact, were regarded as uncivilized and uncultured heathen. The vigorous life that some enjoyed in a delightful climate was matched by death which carried away too many infants and adults. Warfare was continuous and savage—kill and be killed—and religion was witchcraft lacking in mercy and abounding in cruelty. No writings taught the wisdom of the past and no laws maintained the rights of human beings. Christianity brought life and peace and prosperity.

Granted freedom under law, social reforms were bound to follow in the homelands. Revived Evangelicals mobilized opinion and tackled many social injustices, supported modern trade unions and legislated reform of working conditions. None of this was accomplished by force—rather by verbal persuasion against which the reactionaries could not stand. Along with the prevention of social injustice came a multitude of agencies created to care for the unfortunate, until at last the very State itself, the still unregenerate society, began adopting the programme of the New Testament as the norm of civilization, even anti-Christian revolutionaries adopting Christian idealism but trying to legislate righteousness by force, not love.

William Wilberforce mobilized evangelicals and political opinion in Great Britain to secure an abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of the slaves throughout the British Empire, an event of the greatest importance in South Africa, whose economy had been afflicted thereby—though not by the industrial exploitation of the toiling masses.

An Anglican, John Howard, pioneered prison reforms, which were carried on by Elizabeth Fry in London. Theodore Fliedner adopted the same ideas in Germany, building homes and hospitals, training deaconesses and nurses, a famous pupil being Florence Nightingale who in turn influenced Henri Dunant, as ardent an evangelical as Fliedner, in founding the Red Cross.

The connection between Evangelical Revival and popular education is not hard to establish. As in Lollardy and the Reformation, scholars were ready to share the blessings of education and Puritans established universities and colleges in places where none previously existed. The Revivalists of the eighteenth century founded schools and colleges as a matter of course. The nineteenth century awakenings led to the foundation of numerous schools, high schools and colleges in the United States and Europe and elsewhere—extending general education until the State took over a fully-fledged popular programme.

In South Africa, the missionaries undertook the same tasks of educating the ignorant, extending their programme into country after country northward, until fully-fledged education systems became part of the life of the state.

Great Britain was the first of the countries of the world to be industrialized, but its workers were caught in a treadmill of competitive labour which kept them straining for sixteen hours a day. Evangelical leaders, including Lord Shaftesbury and members of the Clapham Sect brought about an end to much of the sorry exploitation and promoted all sorts of social improvements. No less an authority than David Lloyd George credited to the Evangelical Revival a movement 'which improved the condition of the working classes in wages, hours of labour and otherwise.'

Inevitably there came about a decline in the spirituality of the churches affected by the post-1800 Awakenings. Not only was the attack of unbelievers renewed, but anti-evangelical notions claimed a following in the Anglican, Lutheran, and Reformed constituencies, even among Baptists, taking a form of non-cooperation with other Christian denominations and resulting in hyper-Anglicanism, hyper-Lutheranism and hyper-Calvinism, and even a hyper-Baptist faction.

In the autumn of 1857, there were signs of an awakening—success in revival and evangelism in Canada, and an extraordinary movement of men to prayer in New York City which spread from city to city throughout the United States and over the world. Churches, halls, and theatres were filled at noon for prayer, and the overflow filled churches of all the denominations at night in a truly remarkable turning of a whole nation toward God.

The same movement also affected the United Kingdom, beginning in 1859 in Ulster, the most northerly province in Ireland. Approximately ten percent of the population professed conversion in Wales and Scotland as well and a great awakening continued in England for years. Repercussions were felt in many other European countries.

The phenomena of Revival were reported in countries all around the world, and in South Africa in Bantu, Dutch and English churches during the decade that followed the Revival in the homelands.

A phenomenal outbreak occurred in 1860 at Worcester in the Cape, with simultaneous audible prayer, confession of sins, and outright conversions. This great movement spread throughout Dutch Reformed churches and was followed by a revival in English-speaking churches. The evangelical spirit and practices were renewed.

The 1858-59 Awakenings extended the working forces of evangelical Christendom. Not only were a million converted in both the United States and the United Kingdom, but existing evangelistic and philanthropic organizations were revived and new vehicles of endeavour created. The Bible Societies flourished as never before, Home Missions and the Salvation Army were founded to extend thus the evangelistic-social ministry of Revival in a worldwide programme. The impact upon the youthful Y.M.C.A. organizations was noteworthy.

The mid-century Awakenings revived all the existing missionary societies and enabled them to enter other fields. The practical evangelical ecumenism of the Revival was embodied in the China Inland Mission founded by Hudson Taylor in the aftermath of the British Awakening, the first of the interdenominational 'faith missions'—the South Africa General Mission being one. As in the first half of the century,

practically every missionary invasion was launched by men revived or converted in these Awakenings in the various sending countries, including South Africa.

The Awakening of 1860 developed a missionary concern among both Dutch Reformed and English-speaking churches in South Africa, a missionary thrust being made immediately. Not only did the European churches experience the phenomena of revival but also churches among the Bantu and people of pure and mixed Hottentot blood.

The immediate effect of the Awakening upon South African Christians of European stock was to replace racial antipathy by a social sympathy which was reciprocated by the converts.

The Awakenings of the 1860s and explorations of Livingstone were followed up by societies of eager missionaries, entering opening countries. Most of the work thus begun among the pagan tribes was elementary evangelism, but even so the greatest advances were made wherever outbreaks of the phenomena of Revival occurred in the infant churches. Missionaries who had seen phenomenal awakenings at home prayed for the same manifestations in the mission field.

Yet many missionaries who had seen the power of God in revival in the homeland waited in vain for the same in the land of their service. Theirs was the prospecting, the ploughing, the removal of obstacles, and sometimes the planting. Others who had not seen revival phenomena in the homeland witnessed its advent on the mission field. Theirs was the satisfaction of knowing that such awakenings could occur among people in any stage of civilization.

What then were the effects of the expansion of Evangelical Christianity throughout Africa during the latter part of the nineteenth century?

The African citizens of the emergent nations possess an understandable eagerness to claim from the past some tokens of indigenous civilization. The fact remains that in no part of their area was there a native literature or native law.

Missionaries reduced the languages of the Africans to writing, prepared translations of the Scriptures, taught the people to read and write, opened schools for the children, established hospitals for the sick, introduced arts and crafts, and built up law-abiding Christian communities.

Missionaries hastened the disintegration of native cultures. Polygamy was discouraged by most, marriage purchase by many, and initiation rites at puberty were discountenanced as being breeders of immorality. Missionaries struggled against murder and ritual killing, and opposed witch doctors, ancestor worship and animism.

Missionaries fought every exploitation of the natives by the Europeans and adamantly opposed slavery and the slave trade, Evangelicals being the leaders in that opposition. They also encouraged their native charges to become self-reliant, in this way preparing for self-government to come. Emergent nations, in Africa south of the Sahara, have owed their very existence to the pervading influence of Christianity, direct and indirect.

In the 1870s, Dwight L. Moody rose to fame as a world evangelist. Beginning modestly in York, in 1873, Moody progressed through Sunderland, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Dundee, Glasgow, Belfast, Dublin, Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham and Liverpool, using methods of the 1858 Revival in prayer and preaching. Two and a half million people in aggregate heard him in twenty weeks in London.

In 1875, Moody returned to his native land a national figure, campaigning equally successfully in Brooklyn, Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, Boston and other cities. From then on, he ministered in cities on both sides of the Atlantic. His influence was worldwide.

It is curious to notice that Charles Darwin's most significant publication occurred at the time of the Awakening in Great Britain and the United States, heralding a clash between sceptics who interpreted the many new scientific conclusions as anti-theistic and traditional theologians who too readily agreed with such faulty interpretation. It took some time to clear the atmosphere.

Yet far from antagonizing the academic world, the great Awakening resulted in the most extraordinary invasion of the universities and colleges by the Christian message and the most successful recruitment of university-trained personnel in the history of higher education and evangelism. No less than six hundred student volunteers came from American universities to African missions in thirty years.

In the social impact of the mid-century Revivals, greater effects were seen in the industrialized United Kingdom. Lord Shaftesbury continued his extraordinary parliamentary programme for the betterment of humanity. Great orphanages were begun. A Society was formed for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (1889), while Josephine Butler rallied evangelical opinion to abolish the licensing of prostitution in Great Britain (1886). The evangelical interest motivated much of the agitation for the betterment of conditions for labouring people, many leaders in the Labour Party itself being avowed evangelical Christians. In the United States, there also was a growing concern with purely social issues such as rights of the working man, poverty, the liquor trade, slum housing and racial bitterness.

To achieve this reform, the crusaders of the Evangelical Awakenings did not stoop to engage in class warfare. Rather, under the guidance of the Spirit, they enlisted the privileged to serve the poor. The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury single-handed accomplished as much in his lifetime as achieved by any parliamentarian—yet he remained an aristocrat.

Out of this evangelical concern grew a liberalized social gospel whose advocates became indifferent by degrees to the real dynamic of the Christian gospel, the transforming of individual lives by the power of Jesus Christ.

All this social reform was needed urgently, for the nineteenth century was marked by great advances in Science. As Man's knowledge grew in astronomy, biology, botany, chemistry, geology, geography, physics and physiology, Knowledge struck a blow at superstition while enlightened people were encouraged in seeking truth.

The increase of knowledge was matched by a profitable application of its gains to living. The invention of machines increased the supply of food, the production of clothing, the building of houses, the development of transportation, and the extension of communications.

Factories, shops, stores, trains, steamships, roads and telegraphs added to man's mastery of nature and enabled him to travel far and wide. It was significant that this development occurred in the countries committed to the sending forth of the Good News of the Christian faith.

The factory system led to the building of cities that dwarfed anything hitherto known. In spite of serious inequalities of distribution, the wealth of nations increased. Capitalism lavishly produced the goods, and its supporting middle-class found wealth to finance the proclamation of the Gospel and all its works.

The revolutions which marked the beginning of the century encouraged the growth of nationalism. Some nations struggled for independence while others extended their imperial control of backward territories.

The conflict between nationalism and imperialism in South Africa was not a simple struggle. The emigrant farmers who had founded the two republics north of the Orange and the Vaal had nevertheless the closest affinity with the people of their own language and culture back in the old Cape Colony. English-speaking South Africans in the Eastern Province and Natal as well as the Cape had kinsmen in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, particularly on the Witwatersrand. A 'republican ideal' was strong in one sector of the population and a 'dominion ideal' in the other.

For a while, it seemed as if 'two nations' and 'two manner of people' were struggling in the womb of South Africa. But when the pains of labour were ended, the offspring was one a new nation with the languages and characteristics of both its European motherlands and its African home, inheriting a responsibility for other nations within its boundaries.

The troubles of the South Africans were by no means over, but the 'union of provinces' was preceded by yet another spiritual reviving that blessed both sections of the population. And as before, the revival among South Africans was followed by an outreach to Bantu folk and by revival in Bantu Christian churches inside and outside South Africa. Thus, when 'winds of change' blew over the African Continent a generation later, the leaders of the new nationalism were often graduates of Christian schools, under a debt to evangelical missions.

The nineteenth century was largely a period of peace. Europe suffered but a few brief wars and Latin America a number of revolutions. There were colonial conquests and revolts, and a Civil War distressed but did not destroy the United States.

The Pax Britannica, from Waterloo in 1815 till the first World War in 1914, coincided with this 'great century' of evangelical renewal and advance. It was the period in which Great Britain led the world in industrialization, when British commerce penetrated the Seven Seas, when the Royal Navy reigned supreme, and when the British Empire outgrew its predecessors in an imperialism whose benefits outweighed its injustices.

It is impossible to escape a conclusion that this imperial power facilitated a missionary growth in its territories and in the territories of neighbours. German, Scandinavian, British and even South African missionaries 'followed the flag.' South African Christians claimed that a Divine Providence had placed them at the tip of Africa. Their influence would have been severely proscribed had British imperialism been absent. It was in British territories that the Dutch Reformed Church established its foreign missions.

The Scramble for Africa was far from altruistic, but it brought the blessings of civilization to backward tribes, and missionaries used that opportunity to found their schools, hospitals, orphanages and churches.

For South Africa, its Motherlands, the world and especially backward Africa, the nineteenth century proved to be a time of evangelical renewal and advance, in which five phenomenal Great Awakenings brought blessings abounding, to Christian believers, to congregations, to the Christian community, to the Church at large, to the labouring man, to the world of women, to the welfare of children, to the care of the sick, to the shelter of the insane, to the protection of the unfortunate, to the education of the young, to the guaranteeing of liberty, to the granting of freedom, to the administration of justice, to the evolution of self-government, to the crusade for peace among nations—in fact, in the nineteenth century, Evangelical Awakenings may be said to be the foremost of methods of an Almighty God to promote the betterment of all mankind and His chiefest instrument to win men to a transforming faith in Himself.

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